# Chapter I

## THE RETROSPECT

# CHAPTER I

## THE RETROSPECT

The State of Jammu and Kashmir comprises Jammu, Kashmir Valley, Ladakh, the tribal areas of Goro, Hunza, and the neighbouring territories of Jammu. On its south is Panjab; towards its west is Pakistan; China is on its North-East and Afghanistan and Russia are on its North-West. In 1908 and 1819 Jammu and the ancient kingdom of Kashmir, respectively were conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Panjab.[1] At that time the British were the virtual masters of the rest of India, but they had prudently kept away from the Sikhs during the lifetime of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Thereafter, the Sikh army, which had refused to accept defeat from the British, invited Gulab Singh[2] to control the affairs at Lahore,[3] with Lal Singh and Tej Singh as his Commanders-

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-in-Chief. "The Sikh leaders, except for a few of them, were involved in the plot aimed to get the Army beaten and to collect whatever they could of the spoils".[4] Gulab Singh had realized the importance of the growing British power. He had followed the calculated strategy of securing British support to carve out an independent state for himself.[5] Several times he offered assistance to the British, provided they were prepared to reduce the power of the Sikhs.[6] "The crowning act of Gulab Singh's treachery was the transmission of military intelligence to Brigadier Wheeler at Ludhiana, just before the first Anglo-Sikh War".[7]

In the first Anglo-Sikh war, Tej Singh fled away from the most decisive battle fought at Sabraon. The Sikhs

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lost the battle and the result was that on February 20, 1846, the British troops entered Lahore.[8] The victory in the war gave the British the territory between the Satluj and the Bias and a claim to one and a half crores of rupees of war indemnity.[9] Gulab Singh was given powers to negotiate with the British; he sent his messengers to the camp of the British Governor-General.[10] The British demand of a huge indemnity was not acceptable to Lal Singh; instead, he offered to cede to the British additional territories, viz., Kashmir and Hazara.

The British Government was reluctant to accept the offer for many military and tactical reasons.[11] Gulab Singh, who was eager to carve out a state for himself,

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had expressed his readiness to make a part payment of the indemnity to the British[12] if the Sikh territories of Jammu and Kashmir were given to him as his independent possession.[13] The British accepted his offer, and the agreement to this effect was signed at Amritsar on 18th March, 1846.[14] Article I of the Treaty of Amritsar states :

"The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of article IV of the treaty of Lahore dated 9 March, 1846."

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According to Article X of the treaty of Amritsar, Maharaja Gulab Singh was to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and in token of that he was to present annually to the British Government a tribute of one horse, twelve shawl-goats of approved breed and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls. According to Article IX,[15] the British Government was to help him in protecting his territories from external enemies. This treaty stood on a different footing from that of the other treaties with the Indian states. The territories of which the Maharaja was recognized as the ruler were handed over to him in independent possession. While the supremacy of the British Government was acknowledged, there was no agreement on the part of the Company to guarantee the internal security of the State, Article IX merely binding the British authorities to give aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external aggression.[16] Maharaja Gulab Singh got the actual possession of the State only in November, 1846, after subduing the Sikh Governor who resisted his entry into these territories. Gulab Singh, with the help of the British troops, defeated out the Sikh Governor, Shikh Imam-ud-Din, from the province and took possession of it.[17]

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## The Dogras

Gulab Singh did not interfere with the traditional social and economic organization of the State, and almost perfected the political institution of personal rule he had inherited from his predecessors, the Sikhs. In the Kashmir province, Gulab Singh faced many problems of pacification and administration. There was no effective administrative organization in the province which had been ravaged by hundreds of years of misrule and oppression.

"The administration of Kashmir called forth the statesmanship of Gulab Singh. In the latter days of Sikh administration the affairs of the province had been sadly neglected. The Shawl industry, which is the mainstay of the population of Kashmir, was weighed down by heavy and capricious taxation; reckless Governors, especially Shikh Imam-ud-Din, had given away much of the land in the valley as rent-free concession; an oppressive system of Begar, or forced labour, made the life of the peasantry miserable; sati and infanticide were common; the hilly areas were infested with robbers."[18]

Gulab Singh took up the task of administrative reorganization of Kashmir with serious concern. Rebellion was

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suppressed by him with a strong hand, and order restored all over the province. Jagir grants and other concessions in land were recovered and taxes rationalized; and the main industry of the province viz., shawl manufacture, was organized.[19]

In Jammu, Gulab Singh did not change the administrative structure, which he had established after he was awarded the province as a jagir from the Sikhs and recognized as the Raja of Jammu. The Hindus in Jammu were divided by caste, and Gulab Singh used caste control as a major factor of the power-base in Jammu.

In Ladakh and Baltistan, Gulab Singh followed the same policy that he followed in Jammu, leaving the existing economic and political organization intact.[20]

The civil administration of the State was assumed by Gulab Singh himself, who exercised his administrative powers through a Council of his courtiers. Most of these courtiers were called Dewans and were Ministers who enjoyed varied importance at the court. The court was presided over by the Maharaja himself, but the Council was headed

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by a senior Minister who was the Chief Minister of the ruler. The other senior Ministers advised the Maharaja, who in substance retained the power of the Government in himself, on foreign relations of the State, finances, revenue collection and taxation. Treasury was separately put in charge of a Dewan, while another Dewan supervised the Maharaja's household and private Toshkhana. Another Dewan headed the Department of Information. The troops remained directly under the control of the Maharaja.[21] The Ministers remained in office at the will of the ruler and could be dismissed or demoted unceremoniously whenever they incurred the displeasure of the ruler.

The State was divided into three provincial divisions for the purposes of administration, viz., the Jammu Province, the Kashmir Province, and the Frontier Illaqas or regions. The two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir were placed under the control of two Wazirs or Ministers whose position was analogous to that of provincial governors. The provincial governors attended the court of the Maharaja. The two provinces were divided into districts which were placed under the control of the district officers. The frontier regions were divided into two main divisions, Ladakh and Gilgit. Ladakh was placed under the administra-

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tive control of a local governor; Gilgit, under the Commander of the troops stationed there.[22]

Gulab Singh's government was based on the same principle of personal rule that the Sikhs had adopted for government in the Punjab.[23] The ruler personified the State. He was the source of all authority and the fountain-head of justice. All property belonged to him, and in the capacity of the chief landlord his power to tax, raise revenues and levy forced labour was absolute. Gulab Singh, in fact, resumed most of the Jagir grants awarded before him by the Sikh Governors, particularly by Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, for political and other reasons.[24]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh succeeded Maharaja Gulab Singh. He ascended the throne in 1857 when Gulab Singh died. He did not materially change the administration of the state. The main authority of the Government was vested in the Maharaja who exercised it through the Ministers and the officers. Ranbir Singh did not introduce any changes in the existing economic organization of the State and the patterns of property relationship which he had inherited from his predecessor.

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The economy of the state was agrarian, land being the main source of employment and livelihood for the people. The Dogras, as stated above, did not interfere with the systems of land-ownership and land-tenure in the state which prevailed during the time of the Sikhs. The ownership in land was vested with the state. A large part of it was held in the form of jagir grants by the grantees known as Jagirdars. During the latter period of the Sikh rule, large tracts of land were granted to Jagirdars in the Kashmir province.[25] The land which was not held by jagirdars was held by tenants from the state, who tilled the land for the state and paid rent in the form of revenue. In the province of Jammu, tenants held the land in hereditary occupancy; in Kashmir the land was farmed out to the tenants every year. Usually, the hereditary tenants and the tenants who held the land in farm from the state, sublet the land for cultivation to tenants-at-will, who actually toiled and bore the burden of the state,[26] the hereditary landlords, the land-grantee of the jagir, or the farmer. In the divisions of Ladakh and Baltistan, land was held in occupancy tenancy from the state, besides the land which was held in the form of land-grants by the jagirdars.

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The land revenue was exhorbitant and the rent which the land-holders, farmers and jagirdars collected was heavy.[27] The peasantry usually left the land fallow and took to less exacting vocations; and in the Kashmir province, it was usually forced to cultivate the land. The peasantry also bore the brunt of paying a large number of cesses and taxes that the State imposed upon them.[28] The State was also entitled to Begar, which meant forced labour and compulsory appropriation of goods and services from the people in all the three provinces of the State. The institution of Begar was more severe in some regions of the province of Jammu and the divisions of Ladakh and Baltistan.[29]

The industrial organization of the State was stagnant and primitive. Kashmir produced shawls and silks besides small woollen fabrics. The province of Jammu had practically no organized industry, except the indigenous cottage level enterprise which produced cotton fabrics, metal goods and timber; Ladakh and Baltistan were in no way better and thrived on trade in the shawl-wool imported from Tibet and

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sent to Kashmir for shawl-manufacture. The State held monopoly of all industry, trade and commerce; in effect, it formed a part of the organization of the industrial enterprise in the State.[30]

The cultural aspect of the people gave the State a specific character. The people of the Kashmir province were predominantly Muslim and spoke the Kashmiri language. A small minority of Kashmiri speaking Hindus and Sikhs were scattered all over the State, the Hindus inhabited mainly the district of Srinagar, and the Sikhs, the districts of Baramullah and Muzaffarabad. The Jammu province was inhabited by Punjabi-speaking Muslims and the Dogri-speaking Hindus. The Muslims were more numerous than the Hindus. The people of Ladakh were Budhists, and spoke Bhutiya; they were culturally different from both the Hindus and the Muslims of the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. Baltistan was inhabited by Budhists and Muslims, who spoke Balti and were as different from the people of Jammu and Kashmir as the Budhists of Ladakh. Both Ladakh and Baltistan were separately populated regions whose people constituted about two per cent of the total population of the State.

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The organization of the Government established by the Dogras was not essentially different from that in the other princely states, but it was more effectively organized, far less despotic and exploitative and far less corrupt than most other Governments in India. In fact, the condition in the British Indian provinces was in no way better than that in the State. "In one respect, however, this government established by Gulab Singh did not differ in essentials from the oriental despotism which characterised the princely states in India. Except for conservative reaction and the instruments of political blackmail which the Prince inherited or later devised, they were hardly left with any of the nativity they claimed. They were protected proteges of the British colonialism and their power and position was secured by the Government of India. The Sanads, treaties and agreements on which the Indian states' structure was based were, in content, commitments to a subordinate alliance."[31]

## British Intervention

It seems that after handing over the territories of Jammu and Kashmir to Gulab Singh, the British did not feel

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satisfied with the decision they had taken. They realized the strategic importance of Kashmir and its neighbouring areas; therefore, they tried to find out ways and means of annexing it. On the basis of the complaints that the British Government received from the people of Kashmir,[32] they appointed Walter Lawrence to make an on-the-spot study.[33] Lawrence investigated the complaints and though he found the allegations false; he advised the Governor-General of India to administer a stern warning to the Maharaja. Lawrence wrote to H. M. Elliot :

"I hope that the Governor-General will approve the tenor of my letter to Maharaja Gulab Singh. I recommend that in April next two officers, one at least an experienced and should go to Cashmere, and examine and report. They could do it in two months. If necessary then, an Assistant Resident could remain in Kashmir. I deprecate the permanent residence of one officer in an out of the way place like Cashmere or Nepal where most men are apt to imbibe prejudices for or against the authorities. An intelligent Assistant of some standing relieved every year from Lahore

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might keep the Maharaja straight; but if he can or rather will do so without such incubus, I hope it will be done for assuredly his own happiness and horror much depend on his independence."[34]

Lawrence also addressed a sharp note to the Maharaja urging him to reorganise the administration in the State failing which the Government of India would be compelled to make arrangements for the protection of the hill people. In his communication, Lawrence wrote to the Maharaja:[35] "I solmnly warn Your Highness as a friend and well wisher, as one who has striven for your welfare, that the British Government will not permit tyranny in Cashmere and the country under your rule, and that if you will not act for yourself, some other arrangement will be made for the protection of the hill people."

In 1852, the Government of India proposed to the Maharaja the appointment of a "Civil officer on Special Duty" in Kashmir to supervise the conduct of European visitors whom came to Kashmir in large numbers.[36] Maharaja

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refused to accept such a proposal. Heavy pressure was, however, mounted on the Maharaja who ultimately relented and accepted the appointment of the "Officer on Special Duty".[37]

After 1860, the Russian advance in Central Asia introduced a new element in the British policy with regard to Kashmir. In 1865, the Russians occupied Tashkand and Khokand in 1866. In 1866, they reduced Khojend and in 1868, they annexed Samarkand. "Apprehensive of the impact the Russian frontiers rapidly descending south would have on the Dogras who were feverishly endeavouring to bring under their control the small tribal principalities situated on the outskirts of the Kashmir borders, the British promptly warned the Maharaja to suspend his activities across the frontier, and make no attempt to extend his authority beyond the limits which had been conferred on his father."[38] Implicit in the warning was a declaration of the strategic interests the British had in the Northern frontiers of Kashmir, and also a fresh enunciation of their claim to control the processes of Dogra politics, whenever that was found necessary.[39]

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Thus, the interest in the State politics and the security of its northern frontiers, to defend the sub-continent, assumed new dimensions. In his statement of 30th April, 1860, Lord Canning laid down two principles which the British Government followed in its dealings with the states: first, that the integrity of the states should be preserved by perpetuating the rule of the princes, whose power to adopt heirs was recognized by Sanads granted in 1862; second, flagrant misgovernment must be prevented or arrested by timely intervention.[40]

Political relations between the State and British India were carried on through the Punjab Government upto 1877,[41] when an officer on special duty was placed directly under the Government of India; he was to stay in the State for six months in a year, during the tourist season.[42] Gradually, attempts were made to exalt the rank of the political officer to that of a Resident. Soon after the

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death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1885, a Resident Political Officer was appointed in the State.[43] The mixed court appointed by the British in 1872[44] was abolished, and the Resident and his assistants were invested with powers to dispose of civil suits in which the parties were British subjects or Indian subjects of His Majesty.[45]

In 1885, the Resident conveyed to the Maharaja that the Government of India was not satisfied with the administration of the State, and that in case the Maharaja failed to take immediate and effective action, the Government of India would take such measures as were necessary. The measures declared were: "abolition of state monopolies; re-organisation of the financial administration of the state; rationalization of taxes; construction of roads; and removal of the restrictions on emigration."[46] Some

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feeble efforts made by the Maharaja, which he announced on the occasion of his Raj Tilak ceremony, were hardly expected to change the situation. So the Resident reported to the Government of India that it was hopeless to "look for any serious improvement in the administration generally without constant and heavy pressure and material interference in affairs."[47]

In 1888, Colonel Parry S. Nesbet, who was a personal friend of Maharaja Pratap Singh, was appointed Resident in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. After a couple of months, Maharaja Pratap Singh was accused of being in treasonable correspondence with Tsarist Russia and of intending the assassination of the Resident and of his own brothers. The information was said to be based on certain anonymous forged letters received by the Resident, as disclosed by the Resident himself; therefore, the Maharaja was presented with a draft of an Irshad and forced to sign it.[48]

The Irshad was his voluntary abdication by which the Maharaja relinquished all powers of government for a period

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of five years.[49] This happened in 1889.

The episode of the treasonable letters and the edict of voluntary resignation gave the Government of India, the much needed pretext to intervene in the affairs of the State. In a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, the Resident wrote :

"It is not very easy to suggest the exact grounds upon which our action should be based, or the terms of the communication which must be made to the Maharaja. Irshad should be inclined to base our action not exclusively upon the letters, or upon the Maharaja's offer, but to take notice of them, and then to say that having regard to all the circumstances of the case, that it is to say the existing misgovernment in Kashmir, the failure to effect reforms and the warnings previously given, it seemed to your excellency desirable and necessary that His Highness should for a time at least handover his powers to his Council. I would not bind myself down to any fixed term or accept the Maharaja's conditions." He further stated :

"I do not attach much importance to the letters but they strengthen our right to intervene, their discovery has frightened the Maharaja

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49. The Secretary of State for India to Government of India, 24th May 1889, National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret, E., August 1889, Nos. 162-203.

into his abdication."[50]

Although the Maharaja denied utterly that the letters were written by him,[51] yet he was deprived of all effective authority and a State Council was formed to take over the administration. The Council consisted of Maharaja's two brothers, namely, Ram Singh and Amar Singh, two of his ministers viz., Pandit R. B. Suraj Koul and Rai Bahadur Bhag Ram, and a British Officer nominated by the Government of India.[52] This Council carried out military and administrative measures according to their will. The Resident being the head of the Government, these instructions were communicated to him from the Government of India:

"Although the Council will have full powers of administration, they will be expected to exercise these powers under the guidance of the Resident. They will take no steps of importance without consulting him, and they will follow his advice whenever it may be offered."[53]

The members of the Council

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were to be appointed by the Government of India and they held independent charge of their respective departments. But the Resident became the final referee in all matters. He could veto any resolution passed by the Council or suspend any action till further notice.[54]

The Maharaja's brother, Raja Amar Singh, possessed statesmanship of a high order. He presided over the Council till 1891. By virtue of his office as the executive head of the administration, he became the channel of communication in all important state affairs between the Council and the Resident or the native states, except in political matters, which were conducted through the Resident. He was empowered to call for and examine all proceedings except those of the judicial and revenue courts and refer them to the Council for review. All the official letters from Departmental offices to the Resident were countersigned by him. All the appointments made by the Council were confirmed by Sanads bearing his seal. He was the custodian of all State documents and signed all orders for the withdrawals of money from the treasuries when such withdrawals had been duly sanctioned by the Council. He was also empowered to bestow khilats, awards and charitable

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grants within the budget provisions sanctioned by him. No grants of new jagirs or Maufis were admitted for the consideration of the State Council, except by the Prime Minister, who submitted to the Council any change he thought desirable in the terms of existing jagirs and Maufis.[55]

After the deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh, the Gilgit Agency was re-established. Its primary object was to organize the defence of the frontier in view of the Russian mena ce. From 1889 to 1935 the State spent about three crore rupees on the maintenance of the Agency, because the State considered and treated the Agency districts as its own territory. The liability was not only for the purpose of defence but also on account of medical and educational facilities and construction of roads, etc., besides political subsidies.[56] Transport on Gilgit road was maintained by forced labourers; thousands of the Kashmiri forced labourers were ordered to carry provisions and mail for the British officers stationed there, and were not paid wages for carrying loads.[57]

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In 1891, the Council was reconstituted and the Maharaja was offered its presidentship. Raja Amar Singh was appointed Prime Minister.[58] The reconstitution of the Council gave the Maharaja very little authority; power continued to be exercised by the Council under the close and strict supervision of the Resident.[59] In fact, the Government of the country was practically in the hands of the Resident. If anybody was found spreading disaffection against the British Government by preaching in public or circulating seditious writing calculated to infuse hatred in the public against the British Government, orders were given by the Maharaja that, "persons guilty of such offences should be

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dealt with severity and such persons should be turned out of my state."[60] So the British exercised a great deal of authority. In a letter to the Residency Vakil, the Maharaja wrote :

"I am supposed to be no factor in the machinery of the State and nobody cares for me". In another letter of 7th September, 1895, he wrote :

"I am not even allowed to sign papers for the Resident, I cannot even appoint a Tehsildar. Really, I am quite helpless; nothing is in my hands."[61]

In 1896, further modifications were introduced in the procedure of business in the Council. Powers of the members of the State Council and other officers, which were granted to them under the Constitution of the Council, were not to be interfered with until the rules in force were changed; if the Maharaja wished to modify the same, the matter had to be referred to the Council. Some powers were, however, restored to the Maharaja in 1905, when the Council was abolished.

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## The Restoration

The Maharaja's appeal to the British for the restoration of his powers, however, resulted in a minor change in the Rules of Business of the Council in 1896. The Maharaja was given the power "to send for proceedings of the Council; and if he did not agree with any of its decisions or orders, he could refer it back to the Council". Every member had to prepare a synopsis of the work done by him outside the Council and send it to the Maharaja.[62] The Council was given full powers for an indefinite period and was placed under the overall control of the Resident.

The Maharaja made another request for the restoration of the powers of the government to the Viceroy. The Viceroy did not agree to this request of the Maharaja. He said, "I have nothing to give to the Maharaja at Darbar; I can understand his feelings; but I have no intention of being rushed in the matter and I am not aware of anything that the Maharaja has done to merit an honour in addition to the restitution of powers which has for the present been postponed."[63] He instructed the Resident by saying,

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"You will no doubt explain to the Maharaja, should his Highness again refer to the subject, that nothing can be done pending the consideration of his request for powers and that the issue of this must largely depend on himself."[64]

In 1905, the State Council was abolished;[65] and on 26th October, the same year, administrative powers were conferred on the Maharaja by Lord Curzon himself.[66] The Maharaja was given the powers to appoint the Council of Ministers which was to aid and advise him in the conduct of his government. The Maharaja was to be assisted by a Chief Minister and three other Ministers, namely, Revenue, Home and Judicial. All the Ministers had to send the cases and their abstracts to the Maharaja through the Chief Minister. An abstract of orders and their disposal was to be sent to the Resident for his approval.[67]

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In this way, the change which was proposed in the constitution of the State by abolishing the State Council and by the transfer of its administrative powers to the Maharaja, were subject to conditions which left the practical control of the Resident unimpaired.[68]

The British intervention in the State laid bare the unreality of sovereign independence of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The shadows of British supremacy fell over the State only two years after it (the State) was founded, and an officer on special duty was foisted upon Maharaja Gulab Singh. The deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh was also an indication of the British control over the princes. The assumption of control by the Government of India and the gradual relaxation of their control over the State Government brought to surface the fact that the Dogra rule formed an outer flank of the British imperialism in India.

British intervention in the State signified that the people in the State were as much subject to the British colonial organization as the people in the British provinces were. The one difference, which was in no way substantial, was that while in the British Indian provinces, the

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Indian people were under the direct control of the British political organization, in the states they were ruled by the Rajas and Nawabs. The Dogra Rajas were an instrument of the colonial British empire, as much as the princes in the other states of India were.

The objectives of the national struggle in the Indian states were twofold. In the first place, the national movement in the states concentrated on the emancipation of the people from the oppression of the paramountcy symbolized by the rulers of the states; in the second place, this movement aimed at the realization of the independence of India from the British yoke. The two aspects of the national liberation movement in the states were inseparable parts of the same movement. The princes were, as indicated above, the outer flanks of the British colonialism in India. The oppression of their rule and their absolute authority symbolized the forms of paramountcy and subjection to the will of the British colonialism. In fact, the conditions in the British Indian provinces were in no way better than those prevailing in the States. The freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir assumed almost the same direction. It aimed at achieving self-government in the State, and committed itself to the unity of India and to Indian independence. It was only after the Pakistan resolution was

adopted by the Muslim League that a parallel movement grew in the States for the realization of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India.

## The National Movement

The assumption of control of the State Government by the British in 1889 and the virtual removal of the Dogra ruler, Maharaja Pratap Singh, led to drastic changes in the political, social and economic organization of the State. The British reformed the entire administrative organization of the State. Most of the departments were placed under the supervision of the British officers who modified the departmental organization according to the lines laid down by the Government of India. Almost all the department of the State Government were put in charge of British officers, who introduced the system of civil service in the Departments on the lines which had been evolved for the British Indian provinces in India. Audit, accounts, revenue collection and expenditure, debts and taxation -- were reorganized.[69]

The British introduced far-reaching reforms in the economic organization of the State. Their first steps were to change the existing land tenures, regularize land-

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revenue assessment, rationalise taxes on industry and abolish the State monopolies in trade, commerce and industrial enterprise.[70] The British followed almost the same approach that they followed in the other parts of India. "The British were in the first place motivated by two equally significant objectives. In the first place, they sought to consolidate a ring-fence of middle-class interests around the dynasty which would work as a safeguard for the dynasty as well as a check on its wide and absolute monopoly in property. In the second place, the British sought to secure control of the lucerative commercial operations in the State, particularly those across the northern frontiers." A fresh land-revenue settlement was undertaken in the State on the basis of long settlement operations which were conducted under the supervision of a British settlement officer, Sir Walter Lawrence. The main features of the settlement were[71] :

(i) The State demand was fixed for fourteen years.

(ii) The payment in cash was substituted for the payment in land.

(iii) The use of force and the employment of troops in the collection of State revenues was abolished.

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(iv) Begar in land was abolished.

(v) Occupancy rights were conferred on cultivators in disputed land.

(vi) The area of land held by privileged holders in excess of the areas sanctioned to them was assessed at ordinary rates.

(vii) Waste lands were entered in the revenue record as the Khalsa or waste land and preferential rights of the tenants for the acquisition of such land was recognized.

(viii) Permanent, non-alienable, hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment.

(ix) All land was carefully evaluated on the bases of produce, previous collection and irrigation.

(x) Taxes and exactions on the cultivator were abolished, and the rents and liabilities of the cultivator were defined.

A radically drastic change which the British brought about in the State was the introduction of English education. It was first introduced in the State by the Christian missionaries, who received whole-hearted encouragement and support from the British agencies in the State. English education was introduced in the Government schools in 1886. Within one decade a number of schools imparting such education were established in the State.

The drastic changes — in government, administration, revenue-system, industrial organization and in the educational system — had many far-reaching effects in the State.

A new middle class of land owners, industrial entrepreneurs, traders, government servants, and English-educated young men began to take shape. Many of the english educated young men of the State were employed in the State services and, cast in a new progressive sociological role, assumed the leadership of their communities. The emergence of the new middle class led to a wider integration of the many regional, cultural, religious and linguistic identities in the State. It was, in fact, the rise of the middle class, the spread of English education, and the articulation of interest effected by the wider integration of the State, and the concessions inherent in the emergence of the middle class, that proved the ground-work for the evolution of the national consciousness in the State and of the ultimate expression of this consciousness into a regular widespread movement against the foreign dominance of the British in India.

# Chapter II

## POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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Political consciousness, which in due course of time, became the basis of the freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir State, was partly a result of the spread of English education in Jammu and Kashmir and the gradual assimilation of British liberalist reformism by the people in the State. Partly it was the outcome of the impact of the movement for the liberation of India, which gathered definite shape and direction in the first decade of the present century. It also grew out of the many movements generated by communal concussions. The Hindus sought to secure precedence in the administration and the government of the State, and received considerable encouragement from the Dogra Government. The Muslims reacted sharply, and failing to compete with the Hindus withdrew into isolation. In due course of time the various movements were integrated into a common struggle against the British Paramountcy and the Dogra rule in the State.

### English Education

It was in the second half of the last century that modern education began in Kashmir with the advent of the Christian missionaries. The indigenous schools, called Maktabs, had always been connected with mosques, where the

boys were taught to read Arabic so as to be able to read the Quran. Likewise, Brahmins had their schools where Sanskrit was taught to enable the boys to read the Hindu religious books. To these two languages, Arabic and Sanskrit, was added the Persian[1] language, which remained the official language of the State till 1907, when it was replaced by Urdu.[2]

The first modern agency which started educational work in Kashmir was set up by Dr. Elmsle, a Scot, who came to India as the first Christian medical missionary in the spring of 1865, and worked in that capacity for six years.[3] The proposals of the Christian Missionaries to found schools in Kashmir was approved by the Christian Missionary Schools in London. The founder of modern schools in Srinagar was Reverend J. H. Knowles. He arrived in the city in 1881 and soon brought together a good number of pupils who were eager ta learn English.[4] However, on

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account of shortage of accommodation, Rev. J. H. Knowles could have only a small number of pupils in his school; moreover, the school building was outside the city of Srinagar, and those who attended the school complained of distance.[5] It was in 1890 that the Government permitted the Christian missionary to shift the school from the hospital premises to a large house with a compound on the river-bank in the centre of the city. As a result, the number of students increased to about two hundred in 1890.[6] In 1891, Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe arrived to assist Rev. J. H. Knowles. At that time there were two hundred and fifty pupils on the school roll and nearly all of them were Brahmins.[7]

It was the ten years' spadework of Reverend J. H. Knowles that made possible the foundation of the Christian

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missionary school; and his zeal and tact made its progress rapidly.[8] He was assisted by Rev. C. L. E. Burger, A. B. Tyndale and also by some Kashmiri teachers in the work of building up the school.[9] Rev. C. L. E. Burger's chief task was to instruct the staff in the teaching of Mathematics. A. B. Tyndale who was from Magdalen College, Oxford, started a technical school and taught carpentry to Brahmin boys.[10]

It was in the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh that modern education began to spread.[11] The Srinagar Middle School was established by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1874 with provision for the teaching of Sanskrit and Persian. In 1886, Dr. A. Mitra raised this institution to the level of a full-fledged Anglo-vernacular Middle School, introducing English teaching and imparting education according to the Punjab University syllabus. The total number of students

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in the school was eight hundred and nineteen in 1876.[12] In this school, class-books were distributed among the boys and no fee was charged. Later on, the distribution of books was restricted to those students whose parents' income was below rupees thirty-five per month. Scholarships were also awarded on the basis of merit.[13] These efforts were followed by the establishment of a college in each of the two cities of Srinagar and Jammu. It goes to the credit of Dr. Annie Basant, some luminaries of the Theosophical Society, and Pandit Gala Koul of the Sahib family, that the Hindu College, subsequently known as the Sri Pratap College was established in Srinagar in 1906,[14] and another college named after the Prince of Wales, at Jammu in 1907.[15] The number of Government schools increased steadily.

A committee* was appointed by Maharaja Pratap Singh in October, 1907, to formulate a scheme for imparting education to State Subjects. The Foreign Minister suggested the

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following points in the scheme[16] :

(1) Increase in the number of educational institutions;

(2) Providing buildings for primary schools in villages;

(3) Extension of female education in the State;

(4) Inspection and direction;

(5) Advisability of making some departures in the character of education;

(6) The necessity or otherwise of adhering to the system of university education as prevalent in British India.

The scheme was formulated and obviously sent to the Resident for approval. But the scheme was not given a practical shape immediately because of the lack of funds.

In September 1909, Maharaja Pratap Singh again took the initiative by issuing an order in this connection. He asked the Minister Incharge to draw up a scheme for making primary education compulsory and free throughout the State.[17] The Minister concerned then invited the views and opinions of all the inspectors and Head Masters of the High Schools.[18]

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In 1910, Mr. A. Mitra took charge of the Department of Education. In a Memo to the Maharaja, he wrote that he ardently supported the idea of extending free primary education in the State; but he was against the introduction of any law of compulsion either universally or in selected areas. He said; "The measure be extremely unpopular; the motive will be misunderstood."[19] Accordingly, only free primary education was expanded. But after some time, A. Mitra made a proposal for compulsory education. He suggested the establishment of a school which would be attached to the Silk Factory where education was to be imparted compulsorily to the boys working in the factory. But the British Director of Sericulture did not accept the proposal. He said :

> "The boys work here from six in the morning till four in the afternoon; and during these hours they could not be spared unless the silk factory was closed entirely, thus depriving the State of one of its paying departments. If the boys were compelled to attend schools for two hours after 4'o clock, I think that they would prefer to stop away altogether and take up work at the carpet factories rather than work here. As it is, I find it much easier to get people with an elementary education in writing,

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reading and arithmatic in vernacular who consider themselves clerks than to attract men and boys to work in the filature."[20] (Sic)

The proposal for compulsory primary education was adopted finally by Maharaja Hari Singh in 1930. Even as early as 21st February 1912, Maharaja Pratap Singh had remarked: "I do not agree to the postponement of compulsory education. Trial should be given to the scheme not by introducing it in the whole State but multiplying the number of schools in the State."[21] At that time, there were two Colleges, five High Schools, twenty four Middle Schools, one hundred and seventy-two Primary Schools, eight Girls Schools and one Training School.[22] Maharaja Pratap Singh tried to pay much attention to moral instruction and had decided that religious and moral training should be given in the State schools.[23]

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Educational Conference:

In September 1915, a conference of educational officers was held at Srinagar in the office of the Minister of Education to discuss a number of important questions pertaining to educational development in the State.[24] A number of resolutions were passed in the conference. These were:[25]

(1) That there would be only six subjects in the Middle classes, and a student had to pass the examination in four subjects, viz., English, Mathematics, General Knowledge, Urdu or Hindi. He had to secure at least forty per cent marks in the compulsory subjects while he might get only twenty five per cent in the other optional subjects.

(2) That a Sub-committee, consisting of the Principal, Amar Singh Technical Institute, Srinagar, the Director of Agriculture, Kashmir, and the Inspector of Schools, Kashmir Circle, would be appointed to draw up a scheme of studies which would include training in handicrafts and other hereditary occupations.

(3) That special steps would be taken to improve the study of English as an important subject in all classes.

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(4) That in infant classes there would be one teacher for every thirty students, while in other classes there would be one teacher for every forty students in order to avoid overcrowding.

(5) That the importance of medical inspection of schools and students would be recognized.

(6) It was also decided to resume inter-school tournaments which had been discontinued on account of a display of unhealthy rivalry and bad feeling on the part of the competing schools; a committee was to be appointed for the conduct of these tournaments.

(7) That schools and colleges would start work early in the morning during the hot months and would be closed at 10.30 a.m.

(8) That education for girls at all stages would be made practical. A committee was to be framed for the task of preparing a suitable scheme of physical education for girls.

(9) That special arrangements, with due regard to <u>pardah</u> and privacy, would be made at the boys' schools for occasional lessons in methods of school management for the lady teachers recommended by the Advisory Committee.

(10) That annual examinations in all secondary schools would be held every March.

(11) That the system of keeping character-rolls would be extended to teachers of all grades, so that at the time of their promotion or annual increment the remarks in the character-rolls would be invariably considered.

(12) That for the improvement of the study of English in schools, properly trained and qualified teachers would be entrusted with the job of teaching English in even the lowest classes, so that the language would be taught by the 'direct method'.

(13) That the students would have to be full-time students and that they would not be allowed to be away from their schools during working hours.

Another conference of a similar kind was held on 13th, 15th and 16th December in 1916.[26] The conference stressed the necessity of widespread and effective educational expansion.

In 1916, Maharaja Pratap Singh invited Sir Henry Sharp, Education Commissioner, Government of India, to make suggestions for extending education facilities to the Muslims of Kashmir as they were less influenced by modern education. Henry Sharp visited the State and examined the

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26. Ibid.

demands and grievances of the community. He made certain recommendations to the State officials.[27] The recommendations made by Mr. Sharp were :[28]

(1) To increase the number of primary schools, an early attempt should be made to establish a school in every village of five hundred or more inhabitants;[29]

(2) The Maharaja be asked to seek the services of the Christian Missionary school ladies and other private agencies;[30]

(3) There should be an increase in the number of scholarships for Muslim students, so that they could afford education in high schools, colleges and technical institutions. The Government should create a number of small scholarships in primary schools, each of which might not exceed a few annas. Such scholarships would enable the recipients to purchase books and stationery and encourage them to continue their educational efforts.[31]

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(4) Besides technical education, which was partially provided at Amar Singh Technical Institute, vocational education should be started in medical, mechanical, electrical and agricultural schools; there should also be schools for education in horticulture, silkworm-breeding, cattle-breeding, carpentry, basket-weaving, etc.[32]

(5) Primary schools for girls should be set up at those places in Srinagar where there were no such schools.[33]

(6) Girls should be induced to accompany their small brothers to school.

(7) A small capitation grant should be given to the girls who attended schools.[34]

(8) The number of Arabic teachers be increased by one hundred, including Mullas.[35]

(9) Owing to the poverty of the Muslim community, some special concessions be given by way of grants to Islamic schools, whether primary, middle or high.[36]

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(10) Appointment of a special Muslim Inspector.[37]

(11) Special scholarships be granted for Muslim teachers for their professional training so that they could be appointed headmasters of schools in villages which were entirely populated by Muslims.[38]

(12) The sons of artisans be given training in the work of their respective vocations, besides instruction in the three R's.[39]

(13) Training be imparted in shikasta writing, a typical form of calligraphy to boys and in village accountancy to village boys, for it would prove of considerable value to them.[40]

## State Subjects

The English schools and the two colleges established in Jammu and Kashmir turned out a large number of matriculates and graduates every year. The minds of these young men were filled with the ideas of western political thought, freedom and equality. They demanded that only the people of Jammu and Kashmir be employed to man the administration of the State and the Government jobs be given to them and not to the Punjabis.[41]

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The people of the State opposed the wholesale usurpation of all important Government posts, trade contracts, etc., in the State by the outsiders, mostly the people of the Punjab and Britain.[42] After the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1885 A.D., a State Council, composed of members all of whom except the President were outsiders, was set up to administer the State. The members ruthlessly turned many State Subjects out of their offices, and replaced them by their own kith and kin,[43] who completely shut out the local inhabitants from all ranks of the civil service and other jobs.

Armies of outsiders trailed behind the officers from the plains with no more interest than to draw as much as they could and then to depart leaving behind them their own kindred successors to continue the drain. Thus was established a hierarchy in the State services, with the result that, to quote the State Subject Definition Committee, "Services, profits and wealth passed into the hands of outsiders and the indigenous subjects lost enterprise and independence."[44] They were groaning under the unbearable load of taxes and crushing economic poverty. Owing to the utter emptiness of

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Kashmir treasury, a regiment of about one thousand sepoys of the Kashmir Army was ordered to be disbanded. But their pay was heavily in arrears, and they refused to obey the orders until their salaries were paid in full. The Commander of the Regiment had, however, no money to pay, and he pointed to them the house of the Governor of Kashmir. They besieged the Governor's house and threatened to kill him and loot the Bazar if he would not pay them. The Governor was unable to oblige them. So he had to run to the Residency and seek the help of the Resident. Colonel Nisbet the then Resident had, however, left for Jammu, leaving Captain Ramsay temporarily in charge of the Residency. Captain Ramsay advised the Governor to withdraw the orders of disbandment at once, and pacify the troops by reinstating them. This was done and thus a serious outbreak was prevented.[45] One of the main reasons for the financial collapse of the State was that highly paid officials had been thrust upon the State. For instance, the three paid members of the Council were Bhagram, Suraj Koul and Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din. The first two were drawing rupees one thousand five hundred each per month and the third, rupees eight hundred. Not only were these members highly salaried; each of them had also been given an Assistant or Naib on a pay of three-

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hundred rupees per month. "All these Assistants were creatures of Colonel Nisbet; whom he had imported from the British territory, and through them he managed to keep his control over the members. Besides their salaries, these assistants were allowed free quarters. The Governor of Kashmir had also an Assistant or Naib of the above description, one Afzal Khan, who was a well-known creature of Colonel Nisbet."[46] But if Colonel Nisbet was filling the State with his creatures, so was Raja Amar Singh procuring berths for his own favourites. The old Vakil who was getting sixty six rupees per month was dismissed and a Railway man put in his place on a salary of five hundred rupees per month. A photographer, who had previously taught photography to Raja Amar Singh, was appointed Superintendent of the Printing Press on a pay of five hundred rupees. The old officer of the Toshkhana, who had been getting a salary of two hundred rupees, was dismissed, and the father of the head servant of Raja Amar Singh appointed to the post on a salary of six hundred rupees. "The loaves and fishes of the State were being thus divided mainly by the creatures of Colonel Nisbet and Raja Amar Singh.[47] Besides, many Europeans had been brought into the State on high salaries. The Survey Officer, the Chief Engineer,

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the two or three Assistant Engineers, and the Head of the Forest Department -- all these were Europeans. The contractors for the Jhelum Valley Road and their subordinates were also Europeans. And this road alone devoured half a lakh rupees every month."[48]

But while such was the wretched condition of the finances of the Kashmir State, the British Government was going to thrust four British officers upon it, with the object of organizing the State troops.[49] Besides, Lieutenant Colonel Neville Chamberlain was posted as Military Secretary to the Council. These officers would cost a good deal of money to the State. Some other items of expenditure were also heavy. Residency houses cost lakhs of rupees.[50] The outsiders, including the Britishers, were making money at the expense of the poor people of Kashmir. Although, on the one hand, there was an intensely strong feeling in the State against the importance of outsiders in the Administration,[51] on the other hand there were few men with requisite qualifications available to do the jobs.

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Maharaja Pratap Singh backed up the persistent representations of the people and directed that preference be given to State Subjects over outsiders in the matter of employment. Accordingly, in May 1904, the State Council adopted the rules that all deserving State subjects who sought employment in the State should be given preference over others who were either outsiders or had no special qualification for appointment in the service of the State.[52] It was also provided that a candidate appointed to a post must pass through a certain period of apprenticeship in that position.[53]

In 1909, clerical and commercial classes were opened in the State High School so that the young men qualified for clerical and commercial posts could be given the first chance in every department. But the four students who passed the university examination in these subjects in 1910 did not find employment immediately.[54] They protested to Dr. A. Mitra, the Public Works Minister, who pleaded their cause and requested the Maharaja to pass an order to provide those men with suitable posts in preference to the outsiders.[55]

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The Maharaja accepted his proposal and said that State subjects duly trained should be given preference over the outsiders.[56] But the instructions given by the Maharaja were vague, and all those whose relations were in Government service declared themselves to be mulkies. Without a legal definition of the term 'State Subject', it was not possible to enforce the orders of the Government with regard to the employment of outsiders.

In June, 1912, the term 'State-subject' was defined for the first time with the ostensible purpose of giving practical shape to the commands of His Highness the Maharaja to meet the persistent demand of the people of the State to safeguard their rights;[57] but it did not prove effective because any person could have declared himself a State subject;[58] simply by putting an application on a stamped paper of eight annas. Even this attempt proved quite ineffective in checking the continued influx of outsiders. This bred strong feelings of dissatisfaction among the people of the State.[59] The genuineness and legitimacy of their demand in this respect was admitted by many eminent authorities. The

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agitation was spearheaded mainly by the Hindus of Kashmir and Jammu. They were the first to take advantage of modern education, long before the Muslims of Kashmir became politically conscious. The Kashmiri Hindus fought for modernization of the administration. They were the first to demand a free press, a free plat form, and a legislature based on qualified franchise, with powers of lawmaking, certain limited powers of financial control, and certain supervisory powers over the executive. The Assembly, when once it was established, would provide a hitherto unknown forum for the expression of the new outlook, ensure a wider public participation in the policies of the State and give leverage to the new leadership[60] in the determination of the administrative policy.

State Subject : The Definition of 1922

In 1922, at the instance of Maharaja Hari Singh, who was then the senior member of the Council, a committee was appointed to define the term 'hereditary State subject' and examine the entire question of naturalization; but nothing came of it. The Committee's submission was that the object of defining the term 'State subject' was that protection be afforded and preference be given to genuine State subjects who were backward educationally and economically. Irpheds

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issued from time to time by the Maharaja had repeatedly emphasized the enforcement of this principle. Besides, the Government of India, in its Notification dated 21st August 1899 to the Resident in Kashmir had also advised the observance of this rule.[61]

Ghulam Ahmad Ashai,[62] laying before the State Subject Committee the views of the Muslim community, stated :[63]

(1) That there were sufficient number of educated men who could replace the numerous Hindus holding various offices, without, in any way impairing the efficiency of these posts.

(2) That there were many departments in the State that did not at all require English education or academic qualification. All that was needed in such offices was good knowledge of Urdu or Persian, which was then the court language in the State.

(3) That those Muslims who were well read in Urdu or Persian could easily be appointed in departments like Customs, Education Police, Municipalities, Grazing, Sericulture, Forests, Judicial, Settlement, especially the vernacular offices of the Government Wazarats, Tehsils and Low Courts.

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(4) That Muslims should be given proper share in the services, which they were not given.

(5) That the outside importation should be stopped and earnest endeavours should be made for the uplift of the Muslim community and for its early education by speedy and effective methods; and the earliest way to improve their education was to encourage those among them who took the lead in education by grant of easy terms in service, concessions in employment and other inducements in their recruitment to responsible posts.

The educated young men of the State openly carried on a campaign in the press outside the State. In 1925, an article appeared in the Akhbar-i-Aam, a newspaper in Lahore. The article was written by Pandit Gwash Lal Koul.[64] It was written under the heading "Unemployment in Kashmir".[65] The author of this article appealed to the educated Kashmiris to raise the sort of agitation in Kashmir that the student community had r in China. Besides, he addressed a representation to all the members of the State Council, in which reference had been made to the French Revolution. In the article Gwash Lal Koul wrote :[66]

"The awakening in Hari Singh caused by western influence had done apparently no good to the people committed by destiny to his care." He further

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stated:

"The old Maharaja's absolute power was curtailed by the creation of the State Council which consisted of five members, four of whom were especially non-state subjects of different nationalities. The huge salaries which they and their Assistant were drawing almost drained the State treasury while the qualifications they possessed hardly deserve the average-clerk lot". Gwash Lal alleged that the people appointed from outside fed on the people who were "tottering and hastening into the jaws of death; they dare not open their lips because the rigid laws that govern them had eaten all sap in them." He further wrote :

"Whenever a post fell vacant either by death or retirement, it was filled by 'seniority' from within or by 'jobbery' from without; direct recruitment by competition, except in a few cases, is quite unknown. On this side of the globe, the result is that the meritorious men starve and the favoured foot flourishes".

He explained how the State subjects were ousted from their offices. "If chance had posted a Mulkie at a certain place, a formidable intrigue was made to work out his ruin till the fellow was obliged to resign; and when he vacated, his post was either brought under reduction or filled by some incompetent person from among the favoured. Such was the situation in Kashmir. Authorities could not be blamed because people, especially the educated class, were responsible; 'No representation without agitation' is the rule of modern democracy; unless some pressure is brought upon the authorities there cannot be redress of wrongs."

Gwash Lal Koul, therefore, appealed to the educated public to organise themselves into an association and to solve the problem of bread peacefully, honourably and legitimately. Giving the example of Europe, he said that it was the educated class in Europe which brought about the change in the time-honoured method of Government; in China it was the student community which fought against odds there; even in India it was the educated people who brought India forward so many centuries. He concluded :[67]

"The whole world is a struggle for existence in which the strongest survive, while the weakest go to wall. 'Now or never' is the problem. Those alone who are prepared to die at the altar of their motherland will wear a martyr's crown, while the rest will die uncared for, unmourned, unwept. So get up, you lions, and come forward, happen what may". (Sic)

Although very strict action was taken against Gwash Lal Koul, he, along with other educated youngmen[68] carried on a relentless agitation in the Indian press for Kashmiris to be exclusively employed to man the administration.

The protestations of the people, however, bore no tangible results. The commands of the Maharaja to safeguard the

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interests of the subjects of the State were treated as mere scraps of paper by the British. It was earlier, in 1922, that the senior member of the Council, Hari Singh, had issued instructions to give a practical shape to the Maharaja's commands. The Heads of the various Departments of the State were directed to prepare a list of the Mulkies, naturalized Mulkies and non-state subjects in the State employment.[69] A circular was also issued over the signature of the Maharaja[70] prohibiting acquisition of land in the State by any one but a State subject. The circular also said[71]: "In future no non-state subject should be appointed to any post without the express orders of the Maharaja Bahadur in Council in each case, each such proposal would be accompanied by a full statement of reasons as to why it was considered necessary to appoint a non-state subject, it being definitely stated whether there was no State subject qualified available for the appointment proposed. In like manner, no scholarship or training expenses of any kind would be granted to non-state subjects". But this definition made no impact. The issue came up again towards the beginning of Maharaja Hari Singh's regime. The Maharaja directed the senior and foreign members of the Council to form a committee consis-ting of six officials, four non-officials, and representatives of the previous Jammu and Kashmir

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State Subject Definition Committee. Under these orders a committee was appointed; it represented all sections of the people -- Dogras, Kashmiris and Punjabis; and it was presided over by Major General Janak Singh, the then Revenue Minister.[72]

The Committee submitted its report in 1927, defining the term 'State subject'. This definition divided the subjects into the following three categories[73] :

Class I : All persons born and residing within the State before the commencement of the reign of His Highness, the late Maharaja Gulab Singh, and also the persons who settled therein before the commencement of the Samvat year 1942 (1885 A.D.) and have since then been permanently residing therein;

Class II : All persons, other than those belonging to Class I, who settled there in the State before the close of the Samvat year 1960 and have since then permanently resided and acquired immovable property therein;

Class III : All persons, other than those belonging to Class I and Class II, permanently residing within the State who have acquired under a Riyatnama any immovable property under an Ijazatnama and may execute Riyatnama after 10 years' continuous residence therein.[74]

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After the establishment of this definition in 1927, every entrant into the State Government service was required to produce a certificate of his being a hereditary State subject of Class I. These certificates were granted by the Wazir Wazarat in whose jurisdiction the candidate happened to reside. Those wazirs were mostly from outside the State. The result was that while it was most difficult and expensive for the genuine people of the State to get the certificates, outsiders were able to get them without any difficulty. Thousands of certificates were issued to outsiders who had absolutely no claim to them. Meanwhile, hundreds of highly educated State subjects who could not get any employment were clamouring for bread. Outsiders, with their unique position and with the influence they had always wielded in the State, continued to occupy all the high posts. There arose a cry for the scrutiny and cancellation of certificates granted on insufficient grounds.[75]

**Ban on Newspapers**

With the development of higher English education in the State, the strong barrier between the local society and the rest of the world was diminished. The infiltration of liberal ideas, mostly available in the English language, the political movement of the country led by the Indian National Congress, the movements for liberation in the other states of India,

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the political movements of Turkey, Ireland and Egypt, and the part that young men played in these movements made an impact on the political consciousness of the Kashmiris which later on was influenced continually by the Punjab through the press and other media.[76] In spite of the heavy hands of repression with which the Government sought to stifle the entry of Indian newspapers, many old newspapers continued to foster the spirit of nationalism, and a number of new monthly magazines, dailies and weeklies made their appearance.[77] The Kashmir Residency took active steps to prevent the infiltration into the State of seditious ideas from the rest of the country; the entry of such ideas[78] into India was banned under section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, Viii, of 1878, and ordered to be intereepted under sections 25 and 26 of the Indian Post Office Act - ACT VI of 1898.[79] In 1906, the Maharaja of Kashmir banned the publication of newspapers without his prior permission.[80] Magazines and newspapers which carried what the Government considered violent and offensive articles and attemps of the worst type

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to stir up hatred,[81] were not allowed inside the State.

The Muslim paper, the Patriot, of the 25th April 1907, published an article depicting Muslims as downtrodden slaves.[82] Since such articles affected the minds of the Kashmiri masses the Darbar disallowed its publication. Sometimes even cultural or religious magazines were not allowed to be published. The Judicial Minister, while refusing to give permission to one Anant Ram to publish a magazine of this nature, remarked that in his opinion "it was difficult to disconnect politics from questions which had a bearing on the social, moral and educational condition of the community". The newspapers, he said, "interfere with the politics of the State".[83] In 1910 a ban was imposed on all newspapers containing seditious ideas, and offenders were liable to prosecution under section 124-A of Penal Code of 1860.[84] The "Zamindar" used to be the most widely circulated newspaper at that time. The other leading paper was the "Paisa Akhbar" of Lahore, which played a leading role in pleading the cause of the Muslims of Kashmir and Punjab.[85] The two great complaints[86] of the Muslims of Punjab were published in this newspaper of April 11, 1910.

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The circulation of such papers made the people of Kashmir politically alert and sowed the seeds of mass disaffection against both the British and the Dogras. That is why the Maharaja was against the publication of newspapers in the State. The possession and reading of newspapers was regarded as seditious and unlawful; and any one found to possess any of the disallowed newspapers or pamphlets was punished.[87] A copy of the list of such newspapers was posted at conspicuous places for the information of the public.[88] An order was issued by the Maharaja under which "steps would be taken against State subjects sending articles to the newspapers concerning administrative and political questions."[89] Besides strict watch was kept over prohibited political literature, so that it might not be imported into the State. Packages of anti-British newspapers and other postal packets believed to contain newspapers entering Srinagar from the North-Western Frontier Province and addressed to some people in Kashmir, were confiscated[90] and delivered by the Post Master, Srinagar,

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to the Inspector General of Police of the State.[91]

## The Congress Movement

By the turn of the century, the Congress movement in India was beginning to enter upon more decisive phase of its development. The British repression, symbolized by the policies of Lord Curzon, evoked a reaction from the Indians which was radically drastic and which reflected their resentment against the British colonial organization. The partition of Bengal added fuel to the fire. In 1906, the Congress adopted Swaraj as its goal.[92] The Congress leaders, for the first time, raised the demand for independence. "Liberty alone fits men for liberty". When India once secured her freedom, the Congress leaders claimed, progress in other directions would follow as a matter of course. The demand for Swaraj marked the beginning of a new phase in the Congress movement and had deep and wide ramifications.[93] Punjab was seething with discontent and the revolutionary fervour had its effect on the public mind of Jammu.[94]

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The political demonstrations and disturbances which occurred in the rest of India from time to time affected the minds of the educated class in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, too. The Jammu province was the first to be affected, because of its close proximity to Punjab. The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905 provoked the nationalists to start a countrywide agitation against the sinister design of Lord Curzon; it had its repurcussions in the state, too. But the people of the state did not have any direct contact with the political upsurge in the rest of India; they had no means of conveying their grievances. The State Government imposed a ban on the outside speakers, and it was on frivolous grounds that they were turned out of the state.[95]

In 1907, some students from Jammu who were studying at a college in Lahore came to Jammu. Their names were Bikram Singh, Jamuna Dass, Mohan Lal, Tara Chand, Bhagwan Dass and Gulsharan. These students went to various schools asking for subscriptions in aid of the "Punjabee",[96] a newspaper published in Punjab in connection with the students' movement. Two teachers, Basant Singh and Jawahar Lal, acted as cashiers for the students. Some of the students shouted Bande Materam

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95. Jammu and Kashmir Archives, File No. 389 of 1925.

96. Jammu and Kashmir Archives, File No. 24/N-118 of 1907.

in the streets and got the words Bande Materam inscribed on their coats. They also wrote these slogans on the walls of the schools.[97] These students were later on expelled from their schools and turned out of the State for a year.[98] The use of Bande Materam was strictly prohibited. Instructions were given to the District Magistrate by Raja Amar Singh "to keep close watch over all agitations and their promoters". The magistrate was authorized to adopt measures consistent with the situation to prevent and put a stop to seditious and politically dangerous movements.[99]

A proclamation, dated 11th May, 1907, from Maharaja Pratap Singh prohibited the State subjects from agiteting against the British. It stated: "... there is the possibility of the poisonous contagion spreading out to this country on account of its close proximity to a province that has recently shown a tendency to absorb this poison and give expression to it in most objectionable form."[100]

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The Maharaja issued an order that any person "found to have any dealing, directly or indirectly, with any disloyal or seditious movement or to have even taken a interest in, or expressed sympathy with, persons connected or associated with such movement, would be subject to the severest punishment that the Darbar under the political law could inflict."[101] He further warned that "persons making any speech either in public or in private or even holding private meetings to cause any kind of disaffection or public demonstration of individual feeling of discontent, will be equally severely dealt with." The Notification was sent to the Principals of the colleges and the Head Masters of the schools in the State for circulation among the students of the various institutions.[102] Even a saint of the Ramakrishna Mission looked suspicious to the Government; he was ordered to leave the State.[103]

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In 1909, the Resident informed the State Government that two agitators from the Punjab, Ajit Singh and Sofi Amba Prashad, were about to enter the State; he urged that watch be kept over them. The Maharaja replied that there was no need to watch; he would not allow them to enter the State.[104] Strict action was taken against Girdhari Lal Batra, who was studying medicine at Edinburgh, because he was in close correspondence with the supporters of Ajit Singh, who had been deported by the Government of India. Bhawani Dass, father of Girdhari Lal, was instructed to disown his son and turn him out of his family. The Resident was of the opinion that seditious persons should fine no refuge in Kashmir; they should be refused employment in the State and be even dismissed if already employed.[105]

In 1910, Dewan Amar Nath's* son, Badri Nath, returned to India from England. He brought with him some pamphlets and arms. Dewan Amar Nath exhorted him to take part in the administration of the State. Badri Nath did not accept the advice and spoke thus in glowing words: "I shall not sleep as long as I see my countrymen continuing to exist in the

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state of backwardness; my diploma and degree are worthless and the certificates useless unless I pass the test in the field of practical life by doing something in the midst of my people. You have attached too much importance to my English attainments which I regard as useless and worthless." Badri Nath was an enthusiastic nationalist and full of the feeling of agitation, because he had spent most of his time in the company of agitators in England. He became inauspicious in the eyes of the authorities.[106] In fact, the Resident became suspicious of all the Ministers of the Kashmir State. He felt that they were in correspondence with the agitators and sedition-mongers in India.[107]

The Dogra Sadar Sabha

The denial of employment opportunities to the educated young men in Jammu and Kashmir gave rise to a lot of resentment against the Government. Meanwhile, the Hindus of Jammu organized themselves under the auspices of an association called the Dogra Sadar Sabha.[108] It was founded by Lala Hansraj in 1905.[109] The association was non-communal in character; it provided a common platform for all communities of the State. The Executive Committee of the Sabha included

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both Hindus and Muslims. It was a socio-political organization. Its aims and objectives were :[110]

(1) to bring about social change;

(2) to work for the eradication of social evils such as Begar, infant marriages, and trafficking in women, etc.;

(3) to fight for the protection of State subjects in Government services;

(4) to help in the spread of education in the State;

(5) to work for bringing about unity among the different communities living in the State.

The Dogra Sadar Sabha passed many resolutions which had a bearing on the State administration; such as those concerned with increasing the number of high schools, defining the term 'state subject', providing employment and technical education for Dogras, consulting the Sabha about the distribution of scholarships, and abolishing the Begar system altogether in the State.[111] The Sabha also concerned itself with reforming the Dogra community. It launched a campaign against social evils; as a result of this, a number of legislative measures were initiated to remedy them.[112]

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The Sabha started a vigorous campaign urging the State administration to reserve posts in the State services for the State subjects.

The Hindus in Kashmir also joined the Sabha on this issue. Pandit Jia Lal Kilam was chosen to preside over the conference which was held in Kashmir in 1925. He pointed out that "a sort of vague nationalism was taking root in the minds of the educated people", and that "in the face of the common 'outsider menace' the educated classes, both of Jammu and Srinagar, felt a common kinship."[113] The authorities were, however, against the Sabha's attitude to various administrative and political questions. In a letter to the Chief Minister, the Maharaja asserted: "I cannot accept the situation of each and every private individual playing the role of an outsider to the State."[114]

Budh Singh

Budh Singh was a Sikh revolutionary of the Jammu province, who started his career as a Camp Clerk in the employment of the State Government. He soon rose to the position of a district Collector in the State Government. Budh Singh, even

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in his service, showed exemplary courage, honesty and uprightness to deal with the people.[115] In his tour diaries, he wrote to his superior officers the ills committed with the land revenue system, the regnal of Begar, the rampant administrative corruption, untouchability, social evils, general backwardness, and poverty of the people.[116]

In due course of time the State Government felt concerned about what he did and was time and again chastised for what he wrote, however, Budh Singh struggled alone and undaunted.

After his resignation from office, he launched a one-man campaign against the corruption of the administration, the practice of Begar and excesses associated with revenue administration.[117] He went from place to place in Kashmir and Jammu delivering lectures to huge gathering of people drawing their attention to the disabilities, the people in general suffered in the State. In 1920, July, he delivered two famous lectures in Srinagar and pointed out :[118]

(i) the ills which the people of the State suffered, arose out of the corruption in the State administration.

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(ii) indifference of the State administration towards the welfare of the people.

In his speeches, he charged the State officials of corruption and harassment of the people of the State. He accused all the officials high and low of bribery and blackmail,[119] and appealed to Maharaja Pratap Singh, the then Maharaja, to enhance the pays of the State officials, so that they would desist from corruption.[120] He advised the State servants to live a simple life. It is in these lectures that he exhorted the people to take to Swadeshi and give up using foreign clothes. He himself had, however, already taken to the use of Khadar.[121]

Budh Singh was deeply influenced by people and in his speeches clearly said that so long India laboured under foreign yoke, Indians would not be freed from their disabilities. He exhorted people to use Swadeshi, which he claimed marked the beginning of the struggle for freedom.

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In 1922 Raja Hari Singh was appointed the senior member in the Council and Budh Singh wrote a letter to him appealing to the Raja for speedy reforms in the administrative set up of the State. He laid before the Raja the following suggestions :[122]

(i) establishment of Panchayat system;

(ii) definition of the rights of the State-subjects;

(iii) removal of untouchability;

(iv) spread of education;

(v) freedom of press and platform;

(vi) curbing the corruption;

(vii) improvement of trade and commerce;

(viii) maintenance of justice;

(ix) responsible government;

(x) representation in the Assembly;

(xi) use of Swadeshi;

(xii) Abolition of Begar;

(xiii) Construction of roads and bridges.

With the onset of Akali movement,[123] Budh Singh joined the said movement. An Akali convention was held in Srinagar in 1923, Budh Singh acted as the State Secretary of the Conven-

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122. Budh Singh, Prem Khilari, pp. 15, 74.

123. National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, June 1922, No. 18.

tion. Many resolutions were passed at the Convention against the British.

Budh Singh finally resigned from the Government service in 1925.[124] The day he resigned, he addressed a large gathering of people in Srinagar. He said that the condition of the Sikhs was extremely deplorable and assured his audience that he had laid down his office to serve his community and the people of the State in general. In the meeting he made a number of suggestions; the more important of which were:[125]

(i) opening of a Sikh boarding house;

(ii) appointment of a Central Educational Khalsa Committee;

(iii) recruitment of Sikhs in police and military Departments;

(iv) construction of Gurdwaras in all villages;

(v) expansion of educational facilities for the Sikhs.

/ The Yuvak Sabha )

The Yuvak Sabha was the most important socio-political organization of the Kashmiri Hindus. It was founded by Pandit Damodar Bhat Hanjura, who was also the Secretary of

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the Sabha. The prominent workers of the Yuvak Sabha were:[126] Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, President of the Sabha; Pandit Moti Lal Saraf; Pandit Janardhan Teng; Pandit Sri Dhar Koul Duloo; Shri Kashyap Bandhu; Pandit Amar Nath Pyala; Pandit Damodar Bhat of Hanjoora; Pandit Janki Nath Chrungoo; Pandit Shamboo Nath Bhan; Pandit Vidh Lal Vakil; Pandit Hira Koul; and Pandit Prakash Koul.

This association claimed to represent and serve the interests of the whole Hindu community of Kashmir. Although the membership was restricted to young men, the association was the chief nucleus of the Kashmiri Hindu workers in the city and enjoyed the confidence of the older members of the community and also of the non-Kashmiri Hindus.[127] The Yuvak Sabha had its branches in every village; these branches used to collect information about the grievances of the people.[128] The Kashmiri Hindus got well united through the Yuvak Sabha.

The main aim of the Yuvak Sabha was to work for the social uplift of the Kashmiri Hindus. This is reflected in the

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following points :

(1) The Sabha advised the Kashmiri Hindu women to use sarees instead of Pherans# which were considered effeminate. As a result of Kashyap Bandhu's[129] efforts, the pheran disappeared from many Hindu families.

(2) It organized widow marriages. There were three thousand young widows at that time. The Sabha arranged marriages for some widows.[130]

(3) Another evil practice which had attained the force of law was the system of dowry. Besides, every time that a father visited his married daughter's house, he had to pay some cash; and if he had to invite his daughter to his house, he had again to pay some cash. It was a severe tax on a Kashmiri Hindu who was 'blessed' with daughters.[131] Pandit Jia Lal Kilam said once in a meeting: "Unless the customs of dowry and other ceremonial wasteful expenditure with which we generally burden ourselves at the marriages of our girls are abolished, we shall continue to look upon the birth of a daughter as a serious calamity."

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129. Kashyap Bandhu started social reform movement in Kashmir. He was the leader of Kashmiri Hindus. His real name was Pandit Tara Chand Bulbul.

\# Pheran: A long robe, traditionally worn in Kashmir for an over coat.

130. Interview with Kashyap Bandhu.

131. Walter R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 262.

(4) The Yuvak Sabha insisted upon the simplification of the marriage ceremonies.

(5) The Sabha pleaded the cause of women's education among the Kashmiri Hindus. It believed that "no scheme of social reform would ever be successful as long as our girls are not educated. Girl education is as much the duty of the State as it is of the boys". Professor Shri Kanth Toshkhani and the Yuvak Sabha took rapid strides in this direction. The chief creditable points for the Sabha in regard to girls' education were as follows :

(i) The Sabha advocated that religious instruction should be provided in all schools under State control frequented by Hindu girls;[132]

(ii) It worked for the abolition of the caste system and declared that there was no objection to the depressed classes being allowed to take water from the public wells and tanks commanded by the Maharaja;[133]

(iii) It worked for the development of Hindu art, culture and religion.[134]

Besides, the Yuvak Sabha was working for unity among the

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different communities in Kashmir. It was of the opinion that people should never act in a way that would impair the peaceful relation of the communities. It appealed for communal harmony and urged the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir to cement their traditional bonds of unity.[135] It showed its desire to advocate the cause of other communities as their own.

Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, while speaking in a mass meeting at Hazuri Bagh, Srinagar on 18th June, 1924, held by the Hindu Sahaik Sabha, Srinagar, remarked that there could be no true unity between the Hindus and the Muslims as long as the Hindus were the weaker party. He suggested that Akharas should be started where physical training would be imparted to the Hindus. In concluding his speech, he asserted that the Sikhs form the backbone of the Hindu community; he advised the audience that they should show their sympathy with the Sikhs on the occasion of their religious meeting which was proposed to be held at Srinagar.[136]

## The Muslim Protest

The Muslims formed a majority of the population in the State. Therefore, they bore the major brunt of the princely

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rule of the Dogras. The Muslims were conscious that they were ruled by a Hindu Rajput ruler and as such generally blamed the Dogra rule for the ills they suffered. In fact, they suffered many disabilities as the poorer section of the Hindus as well as the depressed castes of the Hindus did. There were many imbalances too, which weighed heavily against the Muslims. In education they were backward and, therefore, their proportion in the State service was small. Since the people in the services had assumed community leadership, the Muslims were sore at the meagre share they had in the State services and clamoured for proportional weightage in the services and wider facilities for education. Many of the Muslim leaders complained of religious persecution and undue exploitation by their Hindu compatriots.

In 1908, a petition was forwarded by the representative of the Kashmiri Muslims to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.[137] It began with an acknowledgement of 'support and benevolence' shown by the Resident in Kashmir towards the Kashmiri Muslims. It described the condition of the Muslims before the establishment of the Residency in the following words[138]:

"We must be certainly be failing in our sense of duty

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if we omit to make due recognition of the kindly support and benevolence continually shown by the Residents in Kashmir towards the Kashmiri Muslims. We shudder with feelings of horror when we think of the days when the Azan# was prohibited; the Zamindars of the Valley, who were unfortunately all Muslims, were treated as laden beasts with human faces, and were left no where withal for their own personal consumption, and had mostly to end their sad days by subsisting on forest products and the bark of trees. The horrible atrocities which reigned here before the establishment of the British Residency, are still within living memory and are too well known to require any explanation on this occasion." The petition added :

"No sooner was the Kashmir Residency established here than the things took a turn for the better; laws were enforced to protect life and property. Disorder and chaos gradually gave way to order in all the departments of the State. What has been done so far through the kind efforts of the Residency is, it may be conceded, not a little in view of the difficulties that lay in the way of reform. Much, however, remains to be accomplished and we feel certain that the Residency is anxious soon to bring justice and safety to the Kashmiri Muslims and relieve them of the tyranny and zulum which has with the advance of times taken a new form to express itself.

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"The policy of reform inaugurated on the advent of the British Residency, evidently, meant equality, impartiality, fairplay, and no favour. For a time all seemed to go on well and there were unmistakable manifestations that the new policy would have an easy and smooth course to run. A new factor, however, soon appeared on the stage which influenced the course of events considerably. This factor was the birth in the upper India during the last quarter of the past century of a Federation of Nationalist Hindus under the religious garb styled Arya Samaj, which eventually took the form of the Indian National Congress. This Federation has for its object Hindustan for Hindus; finding that Hindus out-numbered the other communities and were foremost in education, their frenzied national spirit soon assumed a formidable form and began to assert itself dangerously in many a way in and out. The enthusiastic Hindus have since been toiling ceaselessly to infuse the national idea into the minds of the Hindu masses and are solely responsible for the racial hatred and feuds that are daily becoming a fertile source of trouble and anxiety to the British officers on the whole continent of India."[139] (Sic)

It was asserted in the petition that, "the establishment of an Arya Samaj College at Lahore gave a strong stimulus to

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the Hindus National idea in the Punjab. The movement was not slow to infect the Hindus of this state who are naturally placed in so close a touch with their co-religionists in the principal cities of the Punjab. The contagion spread rapidly through the Punjabi Hindus who got employment in this State. Fortunately for the Hindu National movement, all the higher offices in the State have, with a few exceptions, been, during the last two decades, held by the Punjabi Hindus who have vied with each other in disseminating the national spirit in the State among the Hindus of the State."[140]

The petition, however, claimed that there were ninety five percent of Muslims in the State and they were 'loyal and law-abiding', but the Muslim interests were not only utterly ignored but their legitimate aspirations were cruelly suppressed. The disadvantages under which the interests of the Kashmiri Muslims were suffering were stated as follows:-[141]

(1) There was no minister to represent to His Highness the interests of the Muslims.

(2) All the private staff of His Highness consisted of Hindus who had every chance to get access to His Highness and win his favours.

(3) Advisors of His Highness were all Hindus who considered it their religious duty to keep the interests of the

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Muslims in the background and prejudice the Maharaja against them.

(4) All principal revenue and judicial officers of the State were Hindus who could have no sympathy with the interests of the Muslims.

(5) All the ministerial and other offices of the State were filled with the Hindus and the Muslims were cautiously kept out.

(6) All judicial offices, all wazarat and tehsil offices, with very solitary exceptions, and the provincial governors' offices were crowded with Hindus. These Hindu clerks were in close touch with the Zamindars who were treated with indifference, harshness, and zulum as they did not please these Hindus.

(7) British lent officers were all Hindus with the exception of the Judge of the High Court. These native Hindu lent officers considered it their national duty to import from India sons of their relatives and friends.

(8) Peons and even coolies in the public works department whose duties did not require any educational qualification were all Hindus.

(9) Indifference or apathy was shown by the State authorities to the education of Muslims. Assistant Inspectors of Schools, Headmasters of middle schools and primary schools

were all Hindus, with a few Muslims. The education department had been under the control of the Hindu officers, who had no sympathy with the Muslim cause, with the result that in rural and urban schools, where the total population consisted of Muslim Zamindars, very few of them could send their sons to the schools on account of the unsympathetic and cruel treatment which the Muslims received at the hands of the Hindu teachers and on account of the absence of Arabic in the curriculum of State schools.[142]

The petitioners expressed their support to the Residency and asserted that, "had it not been for the protection afforded by the Kashmir Residency and other British officers, the condition of Muslims would have been irreparably miserable and wretched."[143]

Finally, therefore, the petition made the following plea to the Viceroy :[144]

(1) There should be at least two Muslim Ministers in the State, since the Chief Minister and other ministers, including the Private Secretary, were all Hindus;

(2) Of the above two ministers one should be placed at the head of the Revenue Department;

(3) One of the two posts of Chief Judge and Governor of the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir should always

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be held by a Muslim;

(4) All heads of the departments should be instructed to encourage more Muslim elements in their respective departments till a reasonable proportion of posts was held by the Muslims;

(5) The Education Department of the State should be placed under the control of a European officer;

(6) Facilities, such as liberal grants of free books and scholarships, should be granted for spreading primary education among the Muslim subjects;

(7) The Police Department should be placed under the control of a European officer, as the Muslim interests were totally neglected under the existing arrangements.

The various Muslim organizations, particularly the Taraqui-Talim-wa-Ittihad[145], the Anjuman-i-Islamia, and the Anjuman-i-Nasrat-ul-Islam in their various meetings and annual celebrations asked for the amelioration of the conditions of the Muslims. The aims and objectives of these Anjumans were the advancement of education, co-operation among the Muslims, and greater participation in the administration of the State.[146] The difficulty with the old-fashioned jagirdars generally was to get them

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to realize that "in these days they could not hold their own without education, and as the number of their dependents increased they became more and more improverished. The only chance for them is to qualify themselves for the services." Meanwhile a number of Kashmiri Muslims, who had settled in the rest of India, started voicing their feelings against the policies of the State Government, with regard to the education of the Muslims of the State.

A resolution was passed by the All India Mohammadan Educational Conference at its annual meeting at Rangoon in December, 1909, which was despatched to the Private Secretary to the Maharaja on 24th March, 1911. In this resolution a request was made to the Maharaja to increase the number of Muslims in the teaching and inspection staff and to institute special scholarships for the Muslim students so that their number could be increased in the schools.[147] The same kind of resolutions were passed by the Muslim Kashmiri Conference in its various meetings from time to time.[148] The Muslim Kashmiri Conference was organized in 1911, at Lahore in Punjab. The Conference committed itself to the spread of education among the Muslims in the State and uplift the conditions of the Muslims in the State.

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In 1912 and 1913, the Muslim Kashmiri Conference in its annual sessions strongly condemned the policy of preference given to non-state subjects over state subjects by the Maharaja's Government.[149] Even the All India Muslim Educational Conference of 1915 presented a memorandum to Maharaja Pratap Singh regarding the provisions of educational facilities to the Muslims of the State. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan led the deputation that presented the memorandum to the Maharaja.[150]

Some of the remedies suggested to remove backwardness of the Muslims of the State were : provision to be made for religious education; assistance to enable the Islamic schools to be raised to the collegiate grade; the grant of special stipends and scholarships for Muslims; the employment of Muslim professors; teachers, inspectors; the appointment of a special Inspector for Muslim Education; and the appointment of a Muslim Judge of the High Court of Kashmir.[151]

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In its annual session of April 1920, the Muslim Kashmiri Conference regretted that there was "paucity of Muslims in the judicial, Forest and Public Works Department services of the State." It requested that if "competent Muslims be not available in the State itself, then competent Muslims be imported from outside the State just as non-State subjects of other communities are imported for State services."[152] This conference stressed the introduction of compulsory primary education[153] in the Jammu and Kashmir State. In 1923, again, the Muslim Kashmiri Conference passed a resolution and submitted it to the Maharaja for his early consideration.[154]

The Conference resolved at its annual conference that :

"a deputation of leading Mussalmans should wait upon His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur and should represent all the grievances of the Mussalmans of Kashmir as embodied in the various resolutions passed by the Conference at its various sessions and other representations sent from time to time to time to the Durbar."

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# Chapter III

## SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

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## SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

The social and religious reform movements were a necessary prelude to the political awakening in the country. Like the movements in the other parts of India, the socio-religious movements in Jammu and Kashmir, formed the background of the evolution of the movement against the personal rule of the Dogras in the State and against the dominance of the British. The socio-religious reform movements in the State grew out of the socio-religious movements in the rest of the country and formed an inseparable part of these movements. These movements in the State represented the nascent urge to change the prevailing social and religious frame in the preparation for a political change.

The new middle class and the English-educated intellectuals, were committed to social and political reform. The English educated young men had been educated in Missionary schools, which happened to be the first efficient organized schools imparting English education in the State, their commitments to reform were more pronounced; in fact, the permanent element of the Christian Mission in the State was the initiation of a vigorous movement for social and political reform. In this respect the Missionaries led a strong campaign against illiteracy, social evils, orthodoxy, casteism and conservatism. The new

middle class intellectuals carried a deep impression of the Missionary movement.[1] With regard to social reform, the leadership of the educated young men seemed to be more emphatic. In fact, ills like child marriage, trafficking in women, untouchability, widowhood and casteism were rampant in the State and the educated young men sought to remedy these evils.

## SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS OF HINDUS

### Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj was the earliest recognized organization to start a socio-religious reform movement in the State. The Samaj was set up in the State in 1892. At the turn of the century there were four Arya Samaj associations in the State. Of them two were prominent; these were located in Hazuri Bagh in Srinagar.[2]

Primarily a religious reform organization, the Arya Samaj remained confined to Jammu for a long time.[3] In the

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beginning it was not at all connected with political propaganda.[4] The Arya Samaj was established in the State of Jammu and Kashmir by the Hindus from outside the State who had come from the Punjab as State employees or had settled in the State for business purposes. In spite of its rivalry with the Sanatan Dharam Sabha, the Arya Samaj established its branches in the towns of the Kashmir Valley.[5] The Sanatan Dharam Sabha, which was established in 1917, opposed the expansion of Arya Samaj activities. They published a pamphlet criticising the Arya Samaj. This caused resentment among the members of the Arya Samaj in Srinagar. They joined hands and approached the Darbar with a view to securing the suppression of the pamphlet under theState Press Regulation. One of the chief doctrines of Sanatan Dharam, which the Arya Samaj criticized, was 'Kashmir for the Kashmiris' which meant "the exclusion of Punjabis and other non-Kashmiris from down-country from State appointments and sole employment of Kashmiri Hindus."[6] With the passage of time Kashmiri Hindus extended their support to the Samaj in its

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social work. The main aims of the Samaj were :

(1) To propagate Vedic principles;

(2) To fight against the caste system;

(3) To raise the status of women;

(4) To educate the women;

(5) To abolish the civil institution of child marriage; and

(6) To promote remarriage and protection of widows.

During 1920-30, the Arya Samaj celebrated the marriages of half a dozen widows in Srinagar.[7] The Samaj was organizing public meetings, Sammelans and processions. It enlisted membership from the officials as well as the teachers and other Hindus in the State. These officials used to collect subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in Srinagar. They chiefly preached Hindu-Muslim unity and against the slaughter of cattle.[8]

The 29th anniversary of Arya Samaj was celebrated in Jammu from 12th August to 15th August, 1921. Speeches were made in prise of Mahatma Gandhi and in support of the principles of his programme, like Swaraj, non-co-operation, and boycott of schools.[9] A public meeting was organized by Arya

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7. Census Report of India, 1931, p. 297.

8. National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, August 1921, No. 18; Jammu and Kashmir Archives, File No. 18/79 of 1921.

9. Windham to Johnwood, 7th October 1921, National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, September 1921, No. 18, Fortnightly Report for Second Half of Sept. 1921.

Samaj on 5th April 1924. Among the principal speakers, Lala Gobind Sahai of the Accountant General's office of the State extolled Swami Dayanand and called on the audience to improve the social status of their women-folk. Master Anant Ram of the State High School made a speech in which he remarked that the British Government had succeeded in conquering India mainly because of the internal strife which then prevailed among the Marhattas, Muslims, and Sikhs; he added that the Government had made its Raj secure in India by means of the Intelligence services and the police, by connecting different parts of the country through a network of roads and railways.[10] Concluding his speech, Lala Gobind Sahai stated that it was when the condition of Bharat had become deplorable that Swami Dayanand had appeared and awakened the people. The speaker urged the people to act boldly and without any fear.[11]

Strict action was taken by the Government against the Arya Samajists at this time, because the speakers of the Arya Samaj delivered lectures which, though pertaining to religious subjects, were hurting the feelings of other communities.[12] The Arya Samajists started advocating the principle of 'Shuddi' purification by converting people of other religions including Muslims to Hinduism. But the Muslims raised their voice against the Shuddi and started delivering lectures against the

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Hindus and Arya Samajists. They began to convert the followers of other religions to their own faith.[13] Later on, it was proposed in a provoking attitude that a religious discussion between the Samajists and the Muslims be held; but the Governor prohibited the holding of such a discussion on the ground that such discussions were beyond the scope of the permission granted to hold the annual religious function of Arya Samaj and against public peace and tranquility.[14] The result was that the rivalry between the Arya Samajists and the Muslims continued[15] and when the anniversary of the local Arya Samaj was going to be held from 8th to 11th July 1924, the Muslim Associations, like Anjuman-Hamdard-i-Islam and Anjuman Khanqah-i-Mualla, convened meetings and sent applications to the Superintendent of Police, Kashmir, requesting him to warn the Arya Samajists not to deliver speeches which would injure their feelings. The complaint of the Muslims was that Arya Samajists were using their

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abusive and foul speeches against Islam in their annual meetings and in religious processions.[16]

Arya Samaj, Jammu, celebrated its anniversary on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of March, 1925. On the 21st, a procession was taken out in the city, and on the following days meetings were held in the premises of the local Dogra Hall. Pandit Vishu Bandhu, Acharya, Brahim Vidyalaya of Lahore, Mahatma Hans Raj, Principal, D.A.V. College of Lahore, Bhagwat Datt, research scholar, Mehta Sawan Mall of Lahore, and Khusal Chand Khurgand, editor of the Milap and the Arya Jagat of Lahore were the prominent speakers. Pandit Vishu Bandhu, in the course of his speech, remarked that the removal of the curse of untouchability was essential for the attainment of Swaraj.[17]

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In Srinagar, the anniversary celebrations of Arya Samaj were held from 27th June to 6th July, 1925, at Hazuri Bagh and Habba Kadal.[18] Swami Shri Shiv Ratnanand Ji Saraswati, Pandit Gopi Nath, Editor, 'Akhbar-i-Aam', Pandit Prasad Ram Zadoo, Pandit Gopi Nath Kala and Pandit Thakur Joo Manwatis took a prominent part in the celebrations. Annual meetings and processions organized by the Samaj were marked by singing in praise of India, the Swaraj and the leaders of the Indian freedom movement.[19]

The Arya Samaj movement in Kashmir was confined to urban centres only and was not entertained generally by the masses. Because the Kashmiris at that time were almost entirely preoccupied with their economic difficulties on account of the high prices of food stuffs.[20]

The Arya Pratindhi Sabha, Punjab

The Arya Pratindhi Sabha, Punjab, was registered on 24th December 1895, under Act XXI of 1860. It was the representative Assembly of the Arya Samajis in the Punjab, Sindh,

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Baluchistan and Kashmir.[21] The objects of the Sabha were :[22]

(1) To establish a Vidyalaya for the teaching of the Vedas and the ancient Sanskrit classics and for the preparation of 'Arya Padeshak'; the object of which was being attained through the Gurukula University started in 1902, at Kangri near Hardwar. The Vedic magazine Gurukula Samachar, printed at Lahore, was the accredited organ of the institution.

(2) To establish a library of religious and scientific books for the general public.

(3) To publish tracts and books for the purpose of reviving the teachings of Vedas.

(4) To arrange for the preaching of the Vedic Dharma in the Punjab, Kashmir, the northern-west frontier, Sindh, Baluchistan and other places.

(5) To devise means and to take measures for the propogation of Vedic Dharma. The object of preaching and propagating Dharma were being fulfilled by the regular working of a number of preachers and by celebrating the anniversaries of Arya Samaj. Moreover, the Sabha published

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two periodicals, one in Arya language and the other in English. The 'Arya' language monthly magazine, contained information about the working of the various institutions of the Sabha and embodied expositions of Veda Mantras. The Vedic Magazine Gurukula Samachar was an English monthly devoted to Vedic religion, Brahim Charya, ancient Aryan civilization and culture, Indian economics, and matters of general interest. It was edited by Professor Ram Deva.

## Arya Kumar Sabha

The Kashmiri Hindus who had still not entered the fold of the Arya Samaj, began thinking of doing so in 1910, when the Arya Kumar Sabha was first established in Jammu, one year before the issue of the orders of His Highness the Maharaja prohibiting the formation of societies without sanction.[23] Its weekly meetings were held off and on, in the beginning and then regularly. Arya Kumar Sabha was considered an off-shoot of the main body of the Arya Samaj; being meant for youth .[24] Later on, it established its branches at Rainawari in Srinagar, as an independent socio-religious organization based on the Sanatanist principle of Hinduism. The Arya Kumar Sabha was affiliated with the Arya Samaj,

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Srinagar, which was a branch of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab.[25] The Sabha worked as a part of the great Vedic movement in the Kashmir State.[26] But at that time, Kashmiri Hindus were suffering from many social evils and practices, the horrible among them being child marriage, widowhood, illiteracy of women and seclusion.[27] The other social evils which were rampant in Kashmir were the waste of money on marriage ceremonies, the dowry system etc. Hindu bridegrooms used to go for their brides in the Mughal style, with pomp and show.[28] The Arya Kumar Sabha was against all these social evils.

Kashmiri Pandit Sabha

The Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, was formed in 1914, in Jammu. The Sabha set before it the following aims and objects :[29]

First, to reform the Hindu community in the State;

Secondly, to work for the physical and moral uplift of Hindus;

Finally, to render financial help to their brethren in case of distress.

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Dharm Sabha

The Dharm Sabha was a well known association of Kashmiri Hindus. It consisted of orthodox Hindus.[30] Pandit Hargopal Koul[31] was the moving spirit behind this association. The mission of this association was to work for[32]:

(1) Social reform among the Kashmiri Hindus;

(2) Educational advancement;

(3) The simplification of marriage ceremonies; and

(4) Widow remarriages, which became successful only after the death of Pandit Hargopal Koul.

With the passage of time, the Sabha passed into the hands of youngmen; but it was dominated by the conservative Hindus under the presidentship of Pandit Amar Nath Kak.

The 'Fraternity'

In 1930, a memorandum was submitted to the Maharaja by some progressive Hindus of Kashmir to legalise the marriage of Hindu widows in the State.[33] A new organization, under the

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leadership of Prem Nath Bazaz, was established in 1930, to fight for legalisation of the widow remarriages among the Hindus. The organization was called 'The Fraternity'.[34]

The society worked very hard against the customs like child marriage, prohibition of the marriage of widows, dowry and unnecessary expenditure on marriage ceremonies. The society tried to spread education among the women. Besides, it believed in the revival of cultural traditions, improvement in the health of the community and changes in their dress.[35] Prem Nath Bazaz who was the spirit behind the fraternity entered into correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi and sought his guidance with regard to widow remarriage. Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to him in which he appealed to the young Hindus to marry only if they found a widow.[36] Although the aim of the Fraternity society was to re-organize the society on the basis of modern ideas, it could not achieve much success. The social reformers had to face great opposition from the members of the Sanatan Dharm Sabha.[37]

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Jammu and Kashmir Women's Welfare Association

The Kashmiri Women's Welfare Association was founded in June 1927; and its Jammu wing, in the following year, viz. 1928. The Association was formed after a meeting convened by G.W.C. Wakefield with the object of forming a central organization to co-ordinate and extend the existing work on women's welfare in the State under the patronage of Maharaja Pratap Singh, who donated rupees one thousand from his privy purse. The Association was constituted mostly of Englishmen among whom were[38] Dr. Miss Junel Vaughan, Mrs. Perey Brown, Dr. Miss Hartley, Miss Mallinson, Colonel Hugo, C. E. Tyndale Biscoe. Besides, Mrs. Wattal, Khan Sahib Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khan Sahib Agha Syed Hussain, Pandit B. N. Nehru, Dr. K. Bishan, Pandit Janki Nath Koul and Pandit S. N. Toshkhani were appointed as its members. Mr. G.W.C. Wakefield was appointed the chairman of the Association. The Association had four sections, viz.,

(i) Educational;

(ii) Industrial;

(iii) Health; and

(iv) Recreational.

Each section was under a separate President and controlled by a sub-committee.

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The Kashmir Women's Welfare Association was the central organization for the welfare and uplift of women.[39] In order to supplement the work of the State Girls' school and to give an impetus to women education, a beginning was made, with a class of six girls and a teacher, by another non-official organization, known as the 'Women's Welfare Trust', which was then associated with the Kashmir Women's Welfare Association.

"Tutorial Service Schools" for adult women were opened in the State. In these schools education was imparted free. Attempts were made to give vocational training to the girls of the upper primary classes. The education of adult women was also arranged by giving lectures to them with or without the aid of pictures. Besides, arrangements were made to impart education to women by visual means like cinematographic films and magic lantern slides. Classes for oral instructions on general knowledge and matters of special utility to women were also arranged.

In order to carry education to the very homes, it was proposed that educational volunteers be enlisted. Text books for primary education were published in the Kashmiri language. A Women's League was also founded with the object of binding women together for self-development, social service and social reform.[40]

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39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

An important feature of these activities of the Kashmir Women's Welfare Association was the maternity and child welfare work. This had two aspects: the educational or theoretical, and the practical. A trained health worker was appointed to deliver lectures to the mothers and women in general about antenatal care, the necessity for cleanliness, certain prevailing diseases, and health hazards due to flies etc. Maternity nurses were also trained for free service to the women in the community.[41]

The Kashmiri Pandits' Social Uplift Association

The Association was established in 1931 at Ganderbal in Kashmir by some of the officials of the Postal, Medical and Forest Departments. The aims and objects[42] of the association were purely social. The office bearers contemplated elevating the status of the women of their community and bringing them on to some moral, social and cultural basis like that of their sisters in the down country. Pandit Ram Chand Koul, Post Master Ganderbal; Pandit Niranjan Nath Ganjoo, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Pandit Damodhar, Postal Clerk, Pandit Shamboo Nath, Forest Guard, Pandit Naranjan Nath, Compounder, Ganderbal Dispensary and Pandit Keshev Nath, were elected office bearers of the Association.[43]

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## Socio-religious movements of Muslims

Towards the last years of the Nineteenth century, the Muslim subjects of the Jammu and Kashmir State, were exposed to the impact of English education and the changes in the social and political organization of the State which the British intervention led to. Obviously, the major issues over which the socio-religious movements among the Muslims grew round were, spread of education, removal of social evils, and the emancipation from disabilities. The socio-religious reform movements among the Muslim were mainly puritanic in outlook and were associated with a movement for religious puritanism and religious loyalty. It was mainly because the Muslims withdrew into themselves that they were conscious of the fact that as a religious majority they were ruled by ogra rulers. They traced most of their ills to the Hindu rule and believed that so long as they were not emancipated from the Dogra rule, they would remain isolated. The social and religious reform movements among the Muslims in the State were, therefore, dominated by religious puritanism and a desire for educational advancement to seek a wider participation in the government of the State.

## Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar

The Anjuman was founded by the late Mirwaiz Kashmir, Moulvi Rasool Shah, in 1905. He and his followers were engaged in some

kind of socio-religious reforms in 1899 and 1904.[44] The appellation of Mirwaiz had been used for him as early as 1901.[45]

Mirwaiz Rasool Shah died in 1909.[46] Till then he was considered to be the "only man" who had a large influence over the Muslims of Srinagar and was followed by about three-fourth of the people in the State.[47] Moulvi Rasool Shah was succeeded by his brother, Moulvi Ahmadullah Shah.[48] And Ahmadullah Shah was succeeded by his nephew Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah.[49]

According to Moulvi Rasool Shah, the basic cause of Muslim backwardness lay in their lack of modern education. In order to spread it among the Kashmiri Muslims, he established a primary school in Srinagar in 1899.[50] Later the Moulvi, with the support and co-operation of some eminent and influential persons like Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Aziz-ud-din Kawoosa and Abdul Samad Qaqru,[51] established an association, called 'Anjuman-Nusrat-ul-Islam, in 1905.[52] The basic membership fee of the

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Anjuman was four annas.

The Anjuman consisted of the President, the General Secretary, the Secretary, the Secretary of Scholarships, the Accountant and other members.[53]

It was divided into a general council, an executive body, and various other sub-committees. Matters concerning the general body and of general importance were decided by majority vote in the general council. Matters relating to the general routine work and the budget were decided by the Executive Body. The Sub-committees could be appointed from time to time to report to the Anjuman on matters assigned to them.[54]

The reform movement started by Moulvi Rasool Shah had some social implications in Kashmir :[55]

(1) The first and the immediate implication was the creation of social cleavages and conflict between the votarees of the new trend and the upholders of the conservative tradition. The latter, calling themselves, "Ahle-Aitiqad" the believers in 'the six shrines' were led by the chief priest of the shrine of Khanqah-i-Mualla at Srinagar. They came to be known as "Khankashis" and "Cheka" as well, the followers of the Mirwaiz came to be known as "Kota";

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(2) The second implication was the creation of a single centre of great mass-following and influence under the Mirwaiz, under-cutting the influence of many smaller and scattered pirzadas and making their position redundant. The latter were faced, as a result, with dire consequences as to their social position and economic prosperity;

(3) The third was to cast away the traditions that were a result of the past "contamination" with Kufur, idolatory; and

(4) The fourth was deepening of Muslim communal consciousness in the segment of the population that followed the Mirwaiz.

The role of Anjuman was not confined to religious activities only; it extended to the inculcation in the Muslims of good manners and a sense of mutual co-operation and unity.[56] The Anjuman was also responsible for spreading modern education among Muslims. The first Islamic school was opened in 1899, under the guidance and control of the Anjuman. After some years, it was upgraded into a High School. Its various branches were established in Srinagar and in some towns in the Kashmir province. These schools were controlled by Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam.[57]

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The Anjuman tried hard to persuade the Muslims to take to modern education. In the annual celebrations of the Anjuman, the government officials had to represent the State in its deliberations.[58]

The emphasis on education laid by the Anjuman, can be judged by the proceedings of the meeting the Anjuman held in Srinagar in 1924. In the meeting, one of the speakers spoke for the expansion of education among the Muslims and for social reform. He said that because of educational backwardness the Muslims were in a very bad condition. "Our Hindu brethren have gone far ahead of us; we do not wish ill for the Hindus; they are a part of our being". He said, "Maharaja has provided all facilities for the education of the Muslims and it is the fault of the Muslims if they do not avail themselves of the educational facilities".[59] Almost all the speakers in their speeches, praised these three leaders, Moulvi Rasool Shah, Moulvi Ahmadullah Shah and Moulvi Yousuf Shah, who brought home the importance of education to the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir State.

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58. Ibid.

59. The other speakers were Moulvi Abdul Haq, Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Moulvi M. Y. Shah, Moulvi Mohammad Shah, Munshi Ghulam Mohammad, Raja Mohammad Shah Naqshbandi, Ghulam Hassan Vakil, Moulvi Amir Ullah Sahib and Abdullah Shah, Ibid.

One of the speakers laid stress upon the social reforms. "To remove the educational backwardness, he said, "It is necessary to carry out the social reforms."[60]

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Talim-wa-Ittihad

By the year 1918, a new group of young educated Muslims emerged. They were against the conservative thinking of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam. These educated young men decided to form a new organization called 'Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Talim-wa-Ittihad'. The aims and objects of the Anjuman were the advancement of education and co-operation between the people and the educated community.[61] A deputation was sent to the Home Minister in order to get this Anjuman registered with the Government. But because of the students' agitation# in the State those days, the permission to organise a separate Anjuman was not granted. The deputation, when it met the Home Minister, was advised that this Anjuman should join Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam.[62] But the members of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam could not come to an understanding with the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-wa-Ittihad, because the Mirwaiz declared the impossibility of the two Anjumans merging into one.[63]

Thus the Anjuman consisting of all non-Government Muslim employees began to function separately. The Anjuman was duly

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authorized and recognized by the Government. It focussed its efforts on the problem of granting out of its own funds scholarships to Muslim students reading in various schools and colleges in the city.[64]

Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar

Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam was one of the most important socio-religious organizations in Kashmir. It was established by one Babu Mohammad Ibrahim and some Punjabi Muslims in 1914.[65]

The aims and objectives of the Anjuman were :[66]

(1) To persuade the Muslims of Kashmir to take to education.

(2) To develop the habit of self-help among the Muslims by urging them to make liberal donations for the purpose of spreading education among the Muslims.

(3) To stress the learning of technical and commercial education.

(4) To bear all the expenses for burial of the Muslim villagers thrown into the mortuary after these were declared heirless or unclaimed by the Doctors in the Government hospitals.[67]

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(5) To grant scholarships worth four rupees per month to those Muslim students who had passed the middle standard but could not continue further studies owing to poverty.[68]

(6) To help parentless Muslim children in their education and vocation by admitting them to the orphanage established and maintained by the Anjuman.[69]

Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam in the beginning was purely a non-political body. Its main object was to inculcate in the Muslims of Kashmir, a sense of unity and co-operation. Meetings were held by the Anjuman, and public processions were taken out. "All these functions and processions started with the recitation of verses from the Holy Quran. This was followed by the singing of religious songs and other poems, reflecting the spirit of brotherhood, patriotism, fellow feeling, self-sacrifice, and praises for the workers of the Anjuman. The supremacy of Islam was emphasized so that the Muslims came to understand the advantages of living in co-operation, peace and harmony."[70] The Anjuman confined itself to socio-religious reforms among the Muslims of Kashmir for about ten years.

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Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu

Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu, was the earliest of all associations in Jammu. It was founded by Raja Farman Ali Khan, Major General Samandar Khan, Syed AssadUllah Shah, Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas and Mistri Yaqub Ali. Public meetings were organized by the Anjuman from time to time and copies of the resolutions passed at its meetings were sent to the Government for consideration.[71] The main aim of the Anjuman-i-Islamia was to improve the economic, educational and social conditions of the Muslims and to protect their rights.[72]

In 1915, it was proposed that a committee of ladies should be set up to run the girls' schools in Srinagar. But there were no educated Hindu or Muslim ladies to take up the work; "otherwise an experiment could be made".[73] In the meeting representative men like Khan Sahib Sheikh Imam-Din, President Anjuman-i-Islamia, said that the question of female education was most delicate and required to be handled with extreme care and caution, in face of the tremendous prejudice that existed amongst the un-educated public that formed the majority of the community.[74] He encouraged the Muslims, both men and women to

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achieve education; otherwise, they would remain backward in all the spheres of life.

In 1923, the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Punjab, Lahore, requested the Maharaja to remove the causes that stood in the way of the Muslim subjects of His Highness in acquiring education. The causes were already discussed in the address presented by a deputation of Muslims headed by Sahibzada Aftab Khan in 1913.[75]

A resolution was passed by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu, in its general meeting held on 1st September, 1926, for reservation of certain stipends for Muslim students, in every department of the State. The resolution read :[76]

(1) The Darbar awarded scholarships to the students of the State to prosecute their further studies in medicine, Engineering and forestry every year. But Muslim students were not benefitted with this opportunity in order to carry on their studies outside the State.

(2) Muslims were lagging in university education because of their poverty but in secondary education, which was the only educational criterion for the selection of the candidates for admission to Sub-Assistant Surgeons, Rangers,

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Sub-overseers and Overseers classes, they were upto the mark; and the Anjuman was prepared to produce a number of matriculates for such appointments.

(3) Out of thirty Sub-Assistant Surgeons in the Civil Medical Department only one was Muslim, who as well was a foreigner. Similarly, there was only one Sub-Assistant Surgeon in the military department out of eighteen Sub-Assistant Surgeons on its cadre.

This kind of discouragement towards the Muslim subjects, according to the Anjuman, was one of the causes of Muslim backwardness in education. The Anjuman, therefore, requested the Maharaja that a definite number of stipends should be set apart exclusively for Muslims in every department and that for these selection should take place absolutely and exclusively from amongst the Muslim candidates. Secondly, the selection committee must include some Muslim members so that the claims of Muslim candidates would receive proper consideration at the time of selection.[77]

But the Muslims with sufficient qualifications were not available, especially for appointment in scientific departments.

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The Darbar assured the Anjuman that "so far as possible and consistent with consideration of eligibility and efficiency, special regard would be paid to Muslim interests. This would continue in future also."[78]

Anjuman-i-Tahafuz-i-Namaz-wa-Sater-i-Nasturat

Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satari-Nasturat was started in 1923 by Azad Quraishi, Hakim Mohammad Quraishi and Ghulam Mohammad Alvi.[79] The Anjuman was a purely religious body without having any concern with politics.[80] The following were the aims and objects of the Anjuman:[81]

(1) The Muslims should observe prayers and the Muslim women should wear the clothes properly.

(2) The Muslims should get religious and secular education either through preaching or through schools opened for this purpose.

(3) All traffic in women should be stopped and the marriage contracts should be duly registered in a court of law.

(4) The Muslims of Kashmir should remain loyal to the Maharaja.

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Thus the main object of starting the Anjuman was to give religious teaching and basic knowledge of Islam. Since the Muslims of Kashmir were suffering from many social evils, especially the women who fell victim to such evils, there was need for such an association to be established.[82]

Anjuman-i-Hanfia

The Anjuman was started in Anantnag in 1924. A school known by the name of Islamia Hanfia Middle School had been in existence since March, 1922. It had been founded with the object of imparting religious and secular education to the children of the town and a committee of some of the Muslims of the town under the presidentship of Moulvi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, Mirwaiz, had been working for the management of the said school. In 1924, these men got the formal sanction of the Maharaja for the establishment of the committee.[83] The aims and objectives of this Anjuman were :[84]

(1) To manage the school and devise ways and means to create literary taste among the people.

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(2) To impart religious education and to promote the teaching of old culture.

(3) To be faithful and obedient to the Maharaja and the British government.

Anjuman-i-Islat-ul-Muslimin

Anjuman-i-Islat-ul-Muslimin, usually known as the Muslim Social Uplift Association, was set up in Srinagar at Sokalipora under the presidentship of Nurdin.[85] In the beginning it was concerned with the social reform among the Muslims, but later it turned into a political organization.[86] It was in December 1930, that the Muslim students of the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, submitted an application to the Governor of Kashmir province for permission to set up the Association. The Muslim youngmen pointed out in the application :[87]

(1) The Muslims of Kashmir were backward in education, culture and civilization.

(2) There could be no comparison between the citizens of the other parts of India and the Kashmiri masses. Even Indian Muslims could not compare with their sister community. The Kashmiri masses led a beastly life.

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(3) They lack all sorts of initiative. If any improvement and reformation was possible, it would be through the few educated persons they had. These enlightened Muslims knew best the drawbacks of their co-religionists, so they could improve and reform them through their preachings.

The Muslim youngmen proposed that they be allowed to form an Association for the uplift of Muslims. The Association undertook to look after the welfare of the Muslims and to make them better citizens. The Association confined itself to religious and social reforms among the Muslims. The aims and objects of the Association were :[88]

(1) To inculcate a spirit of loyalty to the Maharaja;
(2) To carry on propaganda for the spread of both male and female education;
(3) To try to introduce effective reforms in matters of marriages, circumcision and other social ceremonies;
(4) To carry on extensive propaganda for the maintenance of cleanliness and the observance of hygienic principles about houses, dress, diet etc.;
(5) To carry on extensive propaganda to discourage begging and to persuade beggars to lead a true citizen's life and not to be a burden on society;
(6) To preach to improve the standard of living;
(7) To help to create better feelings and close relations

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88. Ibid.

among the different sections of society; and

(8) To introduce reforms with respect to the clothes of men and women.

## Socio-Religious Movements of Sikhs

The Sikhs in the State were a small minority community, who were equally distressed like other communities in the State. They were also influenced by the spread of education in the State and the changes which came about in the rest of India. They too were denied opportunities of education, and employments in the government. The Sikhs were mainly occupied with agriculture and a few in the employment of the State services. The socio-religious movements among the Sikhs were therefore, the expression of their response to the English education as well as the urge to liberate themselves from the disabilities they suffered.

### Chief Khalsa Diwan

Chief Khalsa Diwan, the first socio-political organization of Sikhs, came into existence on 30th October 1902.[89] Aims and objectives of the Chief Khalsa Diwan were :

(1) To promote the spiritual, intellectual, moral, social, educational and economic welfare of the Khalsa panth;

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(2) To propagate teaching of Gurbani and to spread knowledge of Sikh history and other authentic writings;

(3) To propagate the teaching as embodied in Sri Guru Granth Sahib;

(4) To represent their interests to the Government; and to make constitutional efforts for their attainment according to the times and conditions.

The Chief Khalsa Diwan also supported the Sikhs of Jammu and Kashmir in their demands and set up an educational committee to take stock of the progress of literacy in the community. In 1921, a letter was sent from the Honorary Secretary, Educational Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, to the Chief Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The main points in the letter were as follows :[90]

(1) It was requested that provision be made for the teaching of Punjabi in the State schools. There were at that time three hundred and fifty boys in that school. Of those, one hundred boys, about one-third of total number were prepared to take up Punjabi.

(2) Secondly, when the other languages such as Arabic and Persian were taught in the school, there was no reason why Punjabi, the mother tongue of the Punjabis, spoken even in the Kashmir State should not be taught in spite of repeated requests of the guardians of the students who were willing to read Punjabi.

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(3) Thirdly, the Sikhs of the Kashmir State were backward in education.

(4) Fourthly, their holy scriptures were written in Gurmukhi and their religion required them to get knowledge of religious tenets which could not be attained without the knowledge of the Punjabi.

Similar communications were sent from the Secretary to the Educational Committee of the Sikh educational conference to the State authorities.

Khalsa Youngmen's Association

It was the earliest socio-religious organization in the State. Established in 1917, the Association worked for the educational uplift of the poor Sikh subjects of the State and their rights in the State. The resolutions passed in the yearly celebrations of the Association were sent to the Government for approval.[91] A meeting was held in the temple of Diwan Jawala Sahai Sahib Jammu on 13th April, 1918, under the auspices of Khalsa Youngmens' Association.[92] The prominent speakers on the occasion were Professor Teja Singh, Master Hari Singh, Sher Singh, Babu Pratap Chand, Mai Banko Ji, and Bibi Veran Ji. These people delivered literary lectures,

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which affected the minds of the public. The lectures were meant for the educational uplift of the poor Sikh subjects of the State.[93] Two resolutions were passed in this meeting. They envisaged :[94]

(1) That, as for the other communities, special scholarships should be granted to the poor Sikhs of the Jammu and Kashmir State who were backward in education.

(2) That, Punjabi teachers to teach Punjabi in the State schools, as in the schools in British India, should be appointed for the development of the Punjabi language. A copy of the resolutions passed was then submitted by the President of the Association to the Chief Minister of the State, for his favourable consideration.

But in spite of these requests made by the Khalsa Youngmen's Association, no attention was paid to the improvement of the Sikh community of the State and no scholarships were provided to the boys belonging to this community.[95] In spite of poverty and lack of facilities, this community was trying hard to acquire education.[96]

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Sikh Sahaik Sabha, Kashmir

The Sikh Sahaik Sabha, Kashmir, was established in 1920. Although it got the sanction of the Government for its establishment in 1921,[97] the primary aim of this Association was to spread education among the Sikhs, the most backward community in every respect, and to struggle for their rights. The methods by which the demands and rights could be realized were the passing of resolutions, sending deputations, convening meetings and preaching at the religious places.[98]

An annual celebration of the Sikh Sahaik Sabha was held in Baramulla town at the Kotli Tirth-Gurdawara, in May 1921. At this meeting, Zamindar Sikhs from all the villages of Kashmir were present and the assembly contained more than two thousand persons.[99]

On this occasion many resolutions were passed unanimously, which contained the claims and rights of the Sikh community of Jammu and Kashmir. Later on, they were put before the State

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authorities. The resolutions passed were as follows :[100]

(1) "That the Sikh community of Jammu and Kashmir is in a very bad condition in all respects, especially in education, when compared to their neighbourly classes and communities;

(2) "That the Sikhs are Zamindars and extremely loyal, ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of their State; such a helpful community should not be neglected altogether;

(3) "That the scholarships should be granted to the Sikh students in their primary and secondary classes and in the colleges and should be encouraged and helped like their Muslim brethren so that they would be able to stand with an equal footing with other communities and classes;

(4) "That the Sikhs should be given employment according to their claims and rights in all the different departments, Military, Revenue, Judicial, Forest, Medical, Public Works Department and Police;

(5) "That in spite of our having most appropriate and high rights and claims in the State especially in the Revenue Department, our case has not been as yet considered very seriously. Leaving other departments aside, even in the Revenue the highest posts the Sikhs occupy are those of

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few Patwaries or in a case or two Munsirams which shows that Sikh community in Kashmir is backward in every respect."

The Akali Movement

The awakening brought about by the Singh Sabha Movement during 1921[101] had made the sikhs conscious of their rights. While the educated began to press for their due share in services and administrative bodies, Municipalities, District Boards, Provincial and Central Legislatures, the masses were more anxious to gain control of their gurdwaras. "There were no rules for the administration of Sikh shrines; and over many of them priests, who were Hindus as often as Sikhs, had asserted proprietary rights. The income of the Gurdwaras such as the Golden Temple in Amritsar and the birth place of Guru Nanak at Nankana, ran into several lakhs of rupees per year. For many years Sikh Associations carried on civil agitation against the Mahants.# Then the impatience generated by the Ghadar and the Nationalist movement spured the Sikh masses into giving up the methods of petitions for redress from courts of law followed by the Singh Sahaitees and into adopting instead

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the methods of nonco-operation and passive resistance of the newly formed party, the Akalis which means 'immortals'. This brought them into conflict with the Punjabi Hindus, many of whom unwittingly sided with the Mahants as well as the administration, which felt impelled to support the priests who were in possession of the Gurdwaras."[102] The Akalis began to look upon themselves as the sole representatives of the community. The more radical elements organized a semi-military corps of volunteers known as Akali Dal which means Army of the immortals. The Akali Dal was to raise and train men for action in taking over the Gurdwaras from the recalcitrant Mahants.[103]

The Akali movement was indirectly responsible for the political awakening in the Princely States after the settlement of disputes over the Gurdwaras. The Akalis from the States began to agitate against the autocratic misuse of power by the Maharaja.[104] From 1921 onwards, the Sikh community of the State continued to manifest its sympathy with the Akali movement, which had a definite effect on the minds of the Sikhs of Jammu and Kashmir.

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At the time of the Nankana tragedy,[105] great sorrow was expressed by the Sikhs in Kashmir. A meeting was held in Muzaffarabad and the speakers attributed the action of the Maharaja in prohibiting the ingress of outside Akalis into the State to the influence of the Resident and blamed the British officials as being responsible for the tragedy. A sum of five hundred rupees was subscribed for the widows and relatives of those who had been killed.[106] In 1922, Guru Gobind Singh's birth anniversary was made the occasion for diatribes against the oppression of the Sikhs in British India.[107]

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Repression and economic distress quickened the pace of the Sikh agitation.[108] With the simultaneous rising of the Akali movement in the Punjab, the Sikh community of Kashmir equally participated in the movement. The Sikhs, like their brethren in Punjab, resolved to wear Kirpan, a foot long.[109] These swords were manufactured in the Jammu province and then these were sold to the Akalis.[110]

In November, 1922, there was a gathering of Sikhs at the Gurdwara in Srinagar on the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Sahib. Speeches were delivered whereby the speakers appealed to the public for sympathy with the Akali Jatha

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connected with the Guru Ka Bagh[111], Amritsar. They expressed the desire that an Akali Jatha should be prepared at Muzaffarabad and sent to Guru Ka Bagh, Amritsar, for civil disobedience. Subscriptions were collected on the spot, and a missionary Sikh who lived in a cave in Muzaffarabad, undertook to prepare a Jatha to go to Amritsar. But on the event of the Jatha desiring to proceed to Amritsar, the Inspector-General of Police was asked to "stop the Jatha and to see that the arrangements for stopping the Jatha should be made quietly and tactfully so that there should be no scandal over it."[112]

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In 1923,[113] the Nabha agitation was started, and a new Morcha at Jaito launched. Batches of passive resisters began arriving every day at Jaito in Punjab. The Government tried its best to kill the Nabha agitation. The Akali Mal was declared illegal and mahy Akali leaders were arrested. But it had a reverse effect and it became a mass movement in the real sense of the term. Jathas arrived from all parts of the Punjab. The members of the local Gurdwara in Baramulla, Kashmir received a letter from the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandak Committee[114] Amritsar, asking them to keep apout one thousand Sikhs ready at Baramulla, so that they might be called through their fathers whenever required.[115]

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In 1924, many areas in Kashmir became imbued with the spirit of the Akali movement. In the weekly meetings which were held within the Gurdwaras, the speakers began to criticize the Government openly. A meeting was held in February 1924, in Srinagar at Kathi Darwaza Gurdwara. A speaker read out an extract from a Gurmukhi paper, which, rendered into English, meant that "the British Government had inflicted innumerable hardships on the Sikh religion which they had endured calmly so far, but now these had passed their endurance and the Government has therefore better retire now." Another speaker started his speech with prayers for the destruction of the British Government in which he was joined by the whole audience. He said that, "God always helps the weak and poor."[116]

Another meeting was held on 2nd March, 1924, at Baramulla Kashmir. Nant Singh, Kapur Singh, Mahiya Singh, Sadhoo Singh, Tara Singh and Kanya Singh were the principal speakers. In a composition which they read out on the occasion, they remarked that they were not in the least afraid of the British Government. They criticized the Government for opening fire on the Jatha at Jaito.[117] A pamphlet entitled

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"Cheran Di Garaj" - the Roar of the Lions - was also distributed among the audience. But the Council issued orders for the proscription of this pamphlet.[118] The Government declared all those Sikh rebels who, whether by word or deed, or by any other means, showed favour to the Akalis.[119] Orders were issued by the Darbar for their expulsion from the State.[120]

The Government of India decided that the recruitment of Sikhs in the Indian army would be entirely closed in the villages which had taken an active part in the Akali movement, and that no Sikh would be admitted to the army who had either himself or through his family been in any way connected with the Akali organization.[121] The Sikhs in the villages of Sadra, Zukra and Srinagar of Tehsil Khas and also of Anantnag District and the Sikhs in the villages of Baramulla, Muzaffarabad, Uri and Karnah were secretly ordered to be kept out of the army.[122]

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In spite of the various warnings issued to the Sikhs, they did not stop holding weekly meetings and were delivering speeches. The Sunday meetings were made the occasion for the delivery of diatribes against the oppression of the Sikhs in British India.[123]

On 10th November 1924, a religious procession was taken out by the Sikhs in Srinagar on the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak, the first Sikh Guru. But the procession was stopped by the police and twenty Sikhs were arrested, and four Sikhs who were carrying the holy scriptures, were handcuffed. The women completed the procession by going through the streets of Srinagar. The arrested Sikhs refused to take food in the jail. Four of them were taken ill.[124]

A meeting of Sikhs was held on 23rd November, 1924, in Srinagar, in which the action of the Government was condemned.[125] All the speakers made comments on the action of the police in having arrested some of their leaders during the procession. Prem Singh, an Akali leader, incited the audience to take out a procession again, reciting religious hymns in defiance of the law.[126]

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The arrested Akali leaders were put on trial and the judgement was pronounced against the Sikh prisoners on the 11th of December 1924, after which they were sent to the Central Jail, Srinagar. After the sentence was passed, some Sikh leaders, namely, Jaswant Singh, Rawail Singh, Karam Singh and Deva Singh delivered short speeches near the court compound inviting the audience, consisting of about two thousand Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs to follow their example and to celebrate their festivals according to their religious principles without subjecting themselves to any restrictions imposed by the State.[127]

On 12th December 1924, some resolutions were passed by the Sikhs of Srinagar in a meeting held in Maisuma, under the chairmanship of Deva Singh and were sent to the senior and foreign members of the Council. These resolutions were :[128]

(1) "That the Sikhs of Kashmir express their indignation, on the arrest and conviction of the Sikhs in the Raj of His Highness, the Maharaja Sahib for taking out a religious procession on the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak;

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(2) "That the Sikhs of Kashmir express sympathy with the families of Sikh prisoners."

In 1925, many leaders from outside visited Kashmir and delivered lectures ~~on~~ of a political nature. Meetings were held from 26th to 29th August, 1925, in Srinagar, in which a Sikh leader from outside the State exhorted the audience to organize Jathabandi which, according to him "always results favourably in times of trouble". He added that for the protection of their religion and for the attainment of their rights, sacrifices were essential,[129] and that the Government could not be in a position to stand against them provided that Jathabandi was sincerely organized.

The Sikh community of Kashmir was becoming agitative and conscious of their rights. The District Magistrate was asked by the State Government to administer a warning against the speakers from outside the State.[130] Orders were issued by the Darbar that the office bearers of any Anjuman, Society or Sabha were to be held responsible for deterring such persons from indulging in objectionable speeches in the Anjuman or Society concerned.[131] And if a speaker refused to

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comply, responsibility would lie on the office bearers to report the matter without delay to the District Magistrate, who was to decide whether it would be desirable to propose the exclusion of the offending party from the State, or to take any other action[132] in the matter.

On 12th November 1925, a secret letter was written to the District Magistrate by the Additional District Magistrar, Kashmir, in which he wrote: "Any person who indulges in inflammatory speeches or who is expected to do so, may be induced to leave the State territory by the pressure brought on him by his own community; and if this succeeds, the matter can be quietly settled. In cases, whowever, where persons of rash temperament are concerned, social pressure will not in my opinion be quite enough."[133] Therefore, it was decided that action would be taken against the persons under section 107 of Criminal Procedure Code,[134] because the only method provided in Criminal Procedure Code under the chapter relating to prevention of crime was section 107. The section not only provided for security being taken from the person, but, in some cases, such person could at once be taken into custody and thus prevented from delivering speeches.

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The warning administered, did not produce the desired effect, and many speakers were expelled from the State. All Anjumans, Sabhas and Societies in the State were warned that if they permitted the delivery of inflammatory speeches, action would be taken against them. In 1929,[135] the Darbar placed restrictions over the public processions and public meetings.

But in spite of these restrictions and obstructions, the Sikhs of the State continued to agitate against the British imperialism as well as the autocratic rule of the Dogras. Although fewer in number, the Sikh community of Kashmir always co-operated with the other communities to overthrow the autocratic rule from the soil of Kashmir.

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# Chapter IV

## THE KHILAFAT

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## THE KHILAFAT

The people of the Punjab, played an important role in the freedom struggle in India. Because of the vicinity of the Punjab to the Jammu and Kashmir State, the struggle for freedom in the Punjab evoked a widespread response in the State. The Swadeshi movement launched earlier, had a deep impact on the thought and conscience of the people in the State and it has been noted above that the students in the schools and colleges of the Jammu province evinced the greatest interest in it. After the end of the Great War, the British policy with regard to the national movement in India, became more stringent. With that the movement in India against the British assumed a more active form. The Rowlatt Act had a deep portent for the movement to develop in the Punjab and had a deep effect on the evolution of the national movement in the State.

### The Punjab Crisis

On 6th February, 1919, the Government of India introduced two Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee.[1] The Rowlatt Acts came into effect in March 1919;

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they authorized the Government to imprison people without trial. The Acts met the general disapproval of Indian public opinion. Voices from all over the country swelled the chorus of protest. At the instance of Mahatma Gandhi, on 6th April, 1919, there were strikes, hartals and demonstrations at many places. In the Punjab, the protest movement was particularly strong. Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the Viceroy to withdraw the Rowlatt Acts, but no heed was paid to him. A Satyagraha Sabha was established, with Mahatma Gandhi as its President, to organize a campaign against the Rowlatt legislation.[2] As there was great popular excitement in both Delhi and Amritsar, the local leaders invited Mahatma Gandhi to visit these places. The Government prohibited the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the Punjab.[3]

On 10th April, 1919, Mahatma Gandhi was arrested at Palwal station near Delhi and put in a train for Bombay under police escort. The two outstanding leaders of the Congress, Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kichlu were also arrested and taken to an unknown place.[4]

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The news of their arrest roused the feelings of the people to protest against the arrests; a public meeting was held on 13th April at Jalianawala Bagh, a small closed park in Amritsar. The Park had only one exit. Without giving any warning, General Dyer ordered the troops to fire on the thousands of people who had gathered there.[5] Among those who had come to the meeting were women, children and old people. The firing lasted about ten minutes, and about one thousand six hundred rounds were fired. The official estimate of the killed was put to five hundred. The death toll was actually about one thousand.[6]

Impact on Jammu and Kashmir

Immediately after the massacre at Jalianawala Bagh, martial law was declared throughout the Punjab, and a reign of terror spread everywhere.[7] The disturbances which occurred in Lahore and Amritsar and Gandhi's passive resistance movement against the Rowlatt Act, aroused the indignation

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of the people in the State, especially in Jammu, which was situated in the vicinity of the Punjab.[8]

Some disciples of the Arya Samaj protagonists who were prominent in the Delhi passive resistance movement, came to Jammu, from Gurukul Hardwar; to attend the Arya Samaj meetings in Jammu. They lectured to the people about the passive resistance movement and called upon the people of Jammu to awaken from their slumber and prepare for the fight for their freedom. These preachers tried to spread the doctrine of closer co-operation between the Muslims and the Hindus in the State.[9]

Impact of the Russian Revolution

The British were frightened at the events which occurred in Soviet Russia. The October Revolution of 1917, had its impact on the minds of the educated youth of India. They watched with keen interest the destruction of the Czars and the growth of a new power of the people to live freely and

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happily without being exploited and victimized by the rich.[10]

"The Soviet Government's disavowal of Czarist Russia's predatory policies, its declaration of people's rights and its address to the peoples' of the orient, caught the imagination of the enslaved colonial people and gave them a new vision in the way of freedom."[11]

The British Government took all possible measures to see that the contagious idea of the emancipation of colonial people did not travel to India. The British anxiety was greater in the case of Kashmir because of her geographical proximity with Soviet Republics in Central Asia.[12] On 23rd December, 1919, B. G. Glancy, first assistant to the British Resident in Kashmir, wrote to the Chief Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir[13]:

> "I am directed to inform you that the Government of India have decided to take defensive measures against Bolshevik propaganda. Though actual proof of Bolshevik activity in India itself is small, the Government think that a serious situation may develop unless

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systematic protective measures are adopted... I am to ask that a careful watch may be kept by the police for any Bolshevik literature which may be found in circulation. It is known that such literature has reached Persia and it may be smuggled into the State by land from Central Asia. In the opinion of the Resident any Bolshevik literature found in circulation should be forthwith proscribed by the Darbar."

The British Residency and the Maharaja expressed their intention to co-operate with the Government of India[14] in prohibiting the import and possession of Russian currency and literature in Kashmir in order to check the Bolshevik propaganda in the State, which might find its way into its territories via Central Asian road.[15] Also strict watch was kept over the communists in 1919.[16] But in spite of these precautions and repressive policies adopted by the Government of India, the Indian national movement continued to influence the educated youngmen in the State.

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Civil Disobedience

The youngmen of the State got inspiration from the Congress movement in India. These youngmen were thoroughly permeated with the ideas of freedom and self-rule.[17] In Srinagar, a movement was started against the rise in prices and people were exhorted to boycott goods of which the prices had increased.[18] Societies propagating boycott of foreign cloth were formed in Kashmir Province at Baramulla, Anantnag and Sopore, where membership was open to all castes and creeds without distinction.[19]

The impact of the civil disobedience movement was felt on the students of the colleges in Jammu town.[20] On 16th March, 1921, hundreds of people went to Sialkot from Jammu, in order to meet Mahatma Gandhi. The so-called Gandhi Caps were becoming common in Jammu, especially amongst students. One of Lala Lajpat Rai's vernacular notices calling on the students of all colleges affiliated to the Punjab University to attend a meeting of the Non-Co-operation Movement at

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Gujranwala on 30th January 1921, was affixed on the notice board of the Prince of Wales College, Jammu.[21] The result was that the number of boys residing in the College hostel asked the Principal for permission to go to Gujranwala.[22] This was refused and the Minister of Education, acting on the orders of the Government, proceeded to the college campus and warned the students that the Maharaja was strongly averse from the students taking any part in political demonstrations whose "avowed object was to induce people to defy constituted authority", and that if any students, in the face of the warning, attended the meeting, they would have to face the consequences.[23]

Despite the warning, nearly one hundred and fifty students went to Gujranwala to attend a conference of students convened by Lala Lajpat Rai to induce the students to join the Non-Co-operation Movement.[24] The Government closed the college, and the students' leaders were dismissed.[25]

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During March 1922, a number of meetings were held, in the Jammu province.[26] Meetings were held in Kashmir province also. Speeches were made, exhorting the people to boycott foreign goods and take to the use of Swadeshi clothes, Cow-protection, strict adherence to religious rites, Hindu-Muslim unity, and abstention from liquor.[27] Some Congress workers were deputed to Kashmir from Amritsar.[28] They brought spinning wheels with them and urged the people especially boys, to get more such spinning wheels.[29] Photographs of various leaders[30] and copies of a booklet entitled as 'Mahatma Gandhi Dha Khadar Dha Suit' were also sold by these workers in the State.[31]

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The authorities took serious note of everything that was going on. These leaders were expelled from the State within one week.[32] No speeches of political or religious nature were allowed to be delivered within the boundaries of the Jammu and Kashmir State without the permission of the Government, in writing. An advance copy of the speech was required to be submitted to the Government.[33] Special watch was kept over religious preachers who were the disciples of Jogyanand Sadhu and had come on a pleasure trip to Kashmir. They were arrested, because they were reported to have been making casual inquiries from a Constable regarding the condition of the Administration and of the subjects.[34]

Meanwhile, the Khadar Department of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, opened eleven depots in the State for the sale of Khadar in Kashmir. It was contemplating the opening of about fifty depots in the State.[35] The State authorities became so apprehensive that they began to take action against all those who had any sympathy with the Non-Co-operation or

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the Civil Disobedience Movement.[36] Even a State Customs official was not spared, who exhorted the traders to import only desirable articles in future and to sell these at concessional rates to the poorer classes.[37]

Khilafat Movement

Shortly after the armistice, Indian Muslims started a vigorous agitation to bring pressure upon British Government to change her policy towards Turkey. The Muslims of India had always recognized the Sultan of Turkey as their religious chief or Khalifa.[38] They helped the British in the prosecution of the war as a result of assurances given by the British Government regarding the Caliphate.[39] When the war ended, the news leaked out that the Allies were thinking of disrupting and dividing the Turkish Empire. Little by little, an enthusiastic section of advanced Muslims, aided first by the delay in conclusion of the settlement and secondly by the Indian reaction to the anti Muslim feeling, which swept Europe and America, succeeded in arousing the bulk of their community

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to a lively apprehension that the Christian powers of the world were about to destroy the last remaining bulwark of Islam.[40] Gradually, the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shia as well as Sunni, became consolidated into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause -- a support which strengthened into a violent partisan feeling when the terms of the Treaty of Sevres# were published. The objects of the agitation were to "stop the disruption of the Turkish Empire; to prevent imposition of Sevres peace terms on Turkey and to preserve the spiritual headship of the Sultan of Turkey."[41]

An all-India Khilafat Conference was held at Delhi on November 23, 1919 under the chairmanship of Fazul-Haq. On the second day Mahatma Gandhi was voted to the chair. He spoke on the situation and objected to the way in which the Government was breaking its pledges to the Muslims of India regarding the fate of Turkey after the War.[42] Mahatma Gandhi suggested that if the British Government and the Government of India remained deaf to the representatives of those Indian Muslims who desired the restoration of the Ottoman Empire to its political and religious status, it might be

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necessary for all Indians, whether Hindus or Muslims, to sever their connection with a power so deaf to the claims of things spiritual in nature.[43] A month later Amritsar Congress was held in December, 1919. Gandhi's views in this Congress, in favour of co-operation and working for Reforms was expressed in an article in his weekly journal at the end of the war :[44]

> "The Reforms Act coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score... Our duty, therefore, is not to subject the Reforms to carping criticism, but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a success."

The situation left no room for such dreams to be realised.[45] On the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, a deputation met the Governor-General under the leadership of Dr. Ansari, to apprise him of the injured feelings of Muslims, but nothing came out of it. In March, 1920, Maulana Mohammad Ali and his brother Shaukat Ali, were deputed to go to England to support the cause of Khilafat. But they also failed in their mission.

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To the consternation of many of his co-religionists, Mahatma Gandhi struck up a working alliance with Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the two pan-Islam extremists who, after being inturned during the War years for their open championship of the cause of Turkey and persistent intrigues with the enemies of the Empire, had been released by royal clemency. Gandhi renounced his adherence to the reforms and set himself seriously to execute his long deferred project of applying non-co-operation to India and placed in the forefront of his aims, not the winning of Swaraj -- but the satisfaction of Muslim opinion in the matter of Khilafat.[46]

The Khilafat extremists in general and Ali brothers in particular proceeded to deliver series of violent speeches, pointing unmistakably in the direction of Islamic supremacy, a religious war, and the liberation of India from the British yoke with the help of trans-frontier Muslim forces. Mr. Mohammad Ali, in the course of a singularly offensive speech at Madras announced that Englishmen would be soon compelled to leave India, and that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade India for the liberation of the country from an infidel yoke, it would be the duty of all Muslims to assist him actively.[47] Muslim newspapers continued to plead the case of

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Turkey. 'The Zamindar' advocated an alliance between Russia and Islamic countries, and the nation strongly endorsed the suggestion that India should have representatives in every country in Asia.[48]

The Khilafat movement in India, which spread almost all over India, particularly the north had a deep impact on the people in the State. In the Jammu province, which was situated in the close proximity of the Punjab, the Khilafat movement evoked a widespread response. Most of the Muslims were aroused because of the religious appeal involved in the Khilafat, Hindus joined it because they considered it a part of the struggle against the British. In the Kashmir province which was predominently Muslim, the Muslims by and large arose to join the movement in massive numbers.

The Khilafat movement which had begun in Jammu and Kashmir was a part of the Khilafat movement started by the Indian Muslims in early 1920. Despite the ban on political meetings in the State, some leading and influential persons persuaded Imams of various mosques in Jammu to declare Jehad in their sermons after prayers, as was being done all over India in connection with Khilafat meetings. Prominent among the people who led the Khilafat movement in Jammu were[49] Mohammad Yaqub, a petition writer; Rahmat-ullah, Mohammad Sayed, an employee

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of the Home Minister's office; Ditto Siraj from Gunjranwala; Qazi Zia-ullah, a retired Tehsildar; Rafi-ud-din, an employee of Anjuman-i-Islamia; Alam Khan, Miran bux, retired Municipal Secretary; Tufail Mohammad, an employee of the Co-operative Bank; Ghulam Nabi, a clerk in the court of Jammu; Mistry Yaqub; Ghulam Ali, who was ~~kkw~~ working in the Revenue Minister's office; and Ghulam Haider.

On 12th March 1920, which was a Friday, most of the Khilafat leaders attended the prayers at the mosque of Mohalla Qasaban in Jammu. Moulvi Rahim bux, who was the Imam of the mosque was approached and requested to deliver a speech on the Khilafat movement of the Muslims in India, in order that a beginning might be made to initiate the movement in the State. Rahim bux did not oblige them. After the prayers, some of the leaders decided to hold a meeting on the 14th of March at the residence of Sardar Akram Khan, an employee of the Co-operative Bank, or of Qazi Zia-ullah, a retired Tehsildar, or of Munshi Gazanfar Ali, who was working in the Governor's office.[50] It was also decided that Moulvi Hafiz Ullah, Imam of the mosque of Pir Mitha, and Moulvi Fida Mohammad, Imam of the mosque of Mohalla Pathavan, be consulted and their advice sought in regard to the movement. Some of the leaders suggested that a preacher from the

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Punjab be invited to come to deliver lectures in Jammu on the Khilafat movement.[51]

Meanwhile the Central Khilafat Committee had given a call for the Hasl-i-Jihad, general strike and hartal.[52] A meeting was held on 13th March, 1920, at the Islamia School Boarding House, Jammu. A large number[53] of men attended the meeting.

A number of resolutions were passed in the meeting.[54] It was unanimously resolved that a fast be observed on Friday, the 19th of March 1920, and a hartal be observed by the Muslims. This was to be proclaimed by the Moulvis

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in their respective mosques, in order to impress on their audience the necessity of Jehad as it was done all over India.[55] A group of persons was unanimously organized to move the various leading Imams to persuade the shopkeepers, Tonga, Tum-Tum-Baggi and Gadda-walaa, vegetable sellers, confectioners and all the Khaliks to stop work on 19th March, 1920.[56]

The men and leaders who participated in the meeting, maintained utmost secrecy in their campaign to convince and persuade the Muslims in Jammu to observe a hartal on the day of Central Khilafat Committee had called for hartal.[57]

On 15th March, another meeting was held in the mosque of Talab Khatikan, Jammu.[58] The meeting was called for Naat Khanni or singing hymns in praise of God and the Prophet. The meeting was attended by hundreds of men.[59] After the

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recitation of verses in praise of God, the question of Khilafat was raised by Allah Ditta Siraj and Mohammad Basharat. Both were employees in the Revenue Minister's office of Jammu and Kashmir Government. Short speeches were made on Khilafat by some other people. One of the speakers, Assad-Ullah Shah, recited some verses from the Kuran in praise of the Prophet. He then turned to the question of Khilafat and, after quoting some local instances in which some Muslims of Pir Mitha, Jammu were implicated and afterwards convicted, warned the audience that they should not take part in such matters; for otherwise, the results would be very serious for the handful of Muslims who were in Jammu, and so on.[60] The young Muslims were under the impression that Assad-Ullah Shah would hold up their views; but at his views were found to be against their wishes, they began to call him by various nicknames. This caused some unpleasantness and the meeting dispersed.[61] The speeches, however, evoked considerable opposition from some of the Muslims assembled in the mosque and a heated controversy ensued, on whether the Muslims should participate in the Jihad of Khilafat or not.

In the Kashmir province, the Khilafat Agitation evoked widespread response from people; they were actively participating in it. The leaders were persuading the people to observe

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mourning on the 19th of March, 1920.[62] Notices with the following headings/passages were pasted in the streets :

a) "Our Nation attends to the voice raised on behalf of God";

b) "The question of the Khilafat of Islam and of the Arabian peninsula and Holy places";

c) "The final and decisive moment of the struggle";

d) "The final message of truth and rectitude from India after which there will be no other message but only fearless action";

e) "The unanimous verdict of all recognized Muslim Ulema, (theologians)in India";

f) "Should the decision be against our religious requirements, there will be only two paths open before us, either to stand by Islam, which ordains the sacrifice of life and property for the assistance and obedience to the Caliphate for the time being and for the protection of the peninsula of Arabia and the Holy places, or to stand by the British Government which does not consider it necessary to fulfil its explicit promise when the time comes for doing so";

g) "It is hereby announced, in accordance with the unanimous proposal of the Khilafat Conference of Calcutta and the sanction of the Central Khilafat Committee, that all Muslims

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should assemble in all cities, towns and villages after Friday prayers on 19th March 1920, and, having held meetings, should send the above message to His Majesty the king emperor through His Excellency the Viceroy of India";

h) "All the Hindu brethren of the country are also with us. The meetings of the 19th March, 1920 should not be of Muslims only but of both the Hindus and the Muslims united together. Maulana Abulbari, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali and Muzzher Hussain Qidwai pray that the whole country may spend the day of 19th March with complete united strength and successful struggle";

i) "All business should be suspended on the 19th of March, 1920. The whole day should be spent in prayers, worship and meetings. This work should be performed in absolute silence and with peace and calmness. There should be no procession of any kind, nor any gathering except in the meeting places".

These notices were issued by the Khilafat leaders, mainly among them were Fazl-ul-Haq, Abdul Qasim, Fazl-ul-Hussan, Hasrat Mohani, Taj-U-Din, Mohd. Akbar Khan.[63]

On 17th March, 1920, some notices printed in the vernacular with the heading "Jid-O-Jahad-Ke-Akhiri Faisle Ki Ghari"

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was found pasted in Jammu. Efforts were made to remove these notices secretly, but this could not be done, as some people or other were reading them at all moments. Another vernacular notice with the heading "Quami Leadron Ka Hukum" was also found. These notices were sent in a book, packed by Gulzar Shah of Urdu Bazar from Sialkot.[64]

The Khilafat movement evoked widespread response in the Kashmir province. On August 5, 1920, at 5 p.m. a mass meeting of Muslims was held at Nawakadal, Srinagar, which was attended by thousands of Muslims.[65] Some Hindus were also present in this congregation. Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah was the chairman of the meeting. The Khilafat question was discussed in this meeting and the audience was asked to collect subscriptions for the same. They were told that the Muslims were then in the worst conditions and that they had been deprived of the sacred shrines which had been under the control of the Khalifas. A sum of rupees twenty or thirty was collected on the spot.[66] In this meeting it was proposed

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to send a telegram to the Indian Khilafat Committee to the effect that Kashmiri Muslims had sympathy with their cause. It was also proposed to send a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy that the conditions relating to the Khilafat might be improved. Another telegram was proposed to be sent to the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, informing him that the Muslims should be given freedom in Islam.[67]

The Khilafat movement had intensified in the Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara districts of the North-Western Frontier Province; the cognate Hijrat Movement had likewise advanced considerably and, in some of the rural tracts, had the effect of temporarily throwing the agricultural population off its balance to the extent, in certain places, of causing some Zamindars to neglect their crops and even to sell their lands.[68] The popularity of the Khilafat movement made the Indian Government alert. The Khilafatists were being kept under strict watch and vigilance. Intelligent police officials were deputed to the Railway station at the time of the arrival of all trains to watch if any bundles of objectionable literature were brought in, and to deal with persons who might be in possession of such literature or notices as they might deem fit. Reliable Muslim police officials were instructed to

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attend the principal mosques of the city in plain clothes at prayer time daily and report movements.[69]

The Khilafat movement in the Jammu and Kashmir State was regarded by the British as a misguided movement. In order to put a check on the movement, the Resident in Kashmir wanted some counter-propaganda to be started by influential local Muslims instead of taking any official action. The movement was carefully watched in order to dissuade the people from going on with it.[70] At the same time, the Governor of Kashmir issued an order according to which it would become necessary before long, under the regulation of 1914 to take action to forbid the holding of meetings, without permission in order to nip the movement in the bud. It was clearly laid down in the Section 3 of the regulation, that "no public meeting for the furtherance of discussion of any ~~xxx~~ subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement or for the exhibition or distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject, should be held,"[71]

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unless written notice of the intention of holding such a meeting and of the time and place of such meeting had been given to the Governor or the Superintendent of Police at least three days in advance, and unless permission to hold such a meeting had been obtained in writing from the Governor or the Superintendent of Police."

The chief organizers of the Khilafat movement were warned by the Governor that if disloyal or seditious speeches were ever made, the speakers would have to face the consequences. He also took a decision that "if the worst comes to the worst, we can expel a person like Kamar Din from the State territories, which is an ordinary thing. The decision does not require any legal support, and, on the other hand, will at once put a stop to all this nuisance."[72] Kamar Din was a Khilafat leader and was holding meetings, making speeches and collecting subscriptions in aid of the Khilafat movement. He had taken it upon himself to run all Khilafat affairs in Kashmir.[73] He himself started correspondence with the Khilafat Committee, Lahore, and promised that he would spread the Khilafat propaganda in Kashmir.[74]

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The severe and stringent measures taken by the State Government irked the Muslims. They presented a petition to the Maharaja. The petition read :[75]

"We are the loyal subjects of your Highness, but we believe that Khilafat is our religious affair. If we receive a setback in the affair, and if the movement is stopped, our life will be impossible, we fear that we may have to migrate. We hope that you will not interfere with the affair. Today, all the Muslims are angry because Kamar Din, the leader of the Khilafat, is called on by the Resident. We are your well-wishers; therefore, we request you to look-after the subjects of the State."

The movement gradually rose into importance. In order to put a check to the movement, a meeting was convened on 31st August, 1920, in the office of the Chief Minister, in which, all the Ministers, the Inspector General of Police, the Governor, and the Superintendent of Police were present. The police reports which formed the chief source of information were laid before the meeting. It was decided that in the first place, it would be most desirable to have the purport of the police reports verified through the leading Moulvis and other influential persons of the city.[76] The diaries briefly

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indicated that "certain irresponsible persons of unknown reputation, or status were holding meetings in the city and trying to mislead the ignorant masses on the questions of Khilafat, whereby there was apprehension of breach of public tranquillity". Pursuant to the Committee's decision, the religious heads and other leading men in the city were called by the Governor the next day, to ascertain their views. Among them the most prominent men were[77] Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah, Mirwaiz Moulvi Sharaj-ud-Din, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Moulvi Ghulam Mustaffa and Khawaja Hussain Shah Naqshbandi, Jagirdar. The leaders confirmed the information supplied by the police diaries and added that one Mirak Shah of Srinagar had, in the course of his speech, stated that the tower of the shrine of Mecca had been blown away by guns. They also wished that necessary steps should be taken against Kamar Din who had come from Lahore, and that such unauthorized meetings should be stopped.[78]

The information which was collected from the leaders was laid before the Ministers and the police officers. Decision was taken[79]:

1) "the certain persons reported to be delivering the inflammatory speeches should be summoned and bound down,

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., Maula Bakash to Daljit Singh, Chief Minister, Jammu and Kashmir, 17th August, 1920.

79. Ibid.

not to hold such unauthorized meetings or address the public without obtaining proper permission;

2) "these irresponsible or michief-mongering persons, in respect of whom it has been found that they are attempting to organize unauthorized committees, should be served with a notice, in terms of His Highness' order of 1914, and made to clearly understand that without expression permission of the Darbar nobody is at liberty to organize any such association."

Moulvi Yousuf Shah and Mirak Shah were, accordingly, sent for on 4th September, 1920, and the purport of the Regulation explained to them. They were bound down at the same time from holding or addressing any public meetings without previous permission, in writing, of the proper authority as provided in the State Regulation for the prevention of seditious meetings of 1914.[80]

The Superintendent of Police was also instructed to take action under His Highness' Order of 1914[81]. Confidential instructions were issued to the District officers which directed :[82]

1) The holding of mass meetings with the exception of purely religious ones, had to be totally stopped;

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2) The judge of the High Court was to advise the Darbar after consultation with the legal remembrancer as to whether any other law or regulation was necessary to be enforced in addition to the seditious Meetings Act which had already been in force in the State.

3) The question of the proscription of certain publications of objectionable character or of the expulsion of undesirable persons was to be held in abeyance for the time being, till the effect of the stoppage of meetings on the public mind was fully gauged.

4) The regulation concerning stoppage of the meetings was to be applied to the whole State simultaneously.

5) No new Sabha or Club was to be formed without the previous sanction of the Darbar.

The Khilafat movement in the Jammu and Kashmir reached its end after it declined in the rest of the country. In the rest of India it did not achieve anything. It failed to achieve the cherished goal of Mahatma Gandhi, a secular Hindu-Muslim unity for a national struggle. In fact, Khilafat led to more severe struggle for communal precedence in India. It had also its deep impact on the evolution of the freedom mx struggle in Jammu and Kashmir State.

Constitutional Reforms

After the full powers of administration were restored to the Maharaja by the British Government on 4th February 1921,[83] he prepared a draft for the new reform scheme for the State and sent it to the Resident for his approval.[84] The Maharaja proposed the appointment of a Council of Ministers which was to assist him in the conduct of administration of the State. The institution of a representative Assembly and the constitution of a High Court of Judicature were also proposed.[85] The Assembly was to consist of the members of the Pratap Council and the other members nominated or elected in accordance with the rules made under this regulation; provided that the aggregate number of the members so nominated or elected would not exceed fifty, and that the Maharaja, for the purpose of any bill introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Assembly, could nominate more than two persons having special knowledge or experience of the subject-matter of such a bill. They could enjoy all the rights of the members of the Assembly.[86]

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At least half the members nominated or elected to the Assembly were to be persons not in the civil or military service of the State. The Assembly was to have a President and a Vice-President who would be appointed by His Highness the Maharaja. It was also to have a Secretary and an establishment that might be deemed necessary.[87]

The powers of the Assembly could be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the Assembly. No law made by the Assembly and approved by the Maharaja was deemed to be invalid by reason only of the fact that, when the law was considered or made, the number of the members of the Assembly was not total, or that any person was sitting as a member of the Assembly whose election or nomination was subsequently declared void, or that any member had not received notice of any meeting.[88]

Subject to the provisions of this regulation, the Assembly was empowered to make laws for the Jammu and Kashmir State or any part thereof, provided that no such law had validity until the Maharaja had assented to it in writing.[89]

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The Assembly was precluded from making laws in regard to[90]

(a) the prerogative, rights, powers, duties, or privileges of the Maharaja or his successors, or the management or control of the household;

(b) the rights or privileges of the members of the ruling family of the Jammu and Kashmir State;

(c) the relations of the Maharaja with the British Government, the Indian Princes, and the feudatory chiefs of the Jammu and Kashmir State;

(d) the foreign policy of the State;

(e) the matters regulated by treaties or formal agreements made by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State with the British Government, the Indian Princes, and the feudatory chiefs of the Jammu and Kashmir State;

(f) the discipline, control or maintenance of the military forces of the Maharaja or any portion thereof or additions thereto; and

(g) such other matters as might be notified by the Maharaja in this regard.

The Assembly was to obtain the previous sanction of the Maharaja, in writing, to take into consideration any proposal

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to make a law :

(a) affecting the public revenue or any tax, duty, or cess payable under any law, regulation or established or recognized custom, for the time being in force, or imposing any charge on such revenue, tax, duty, rate or cess;

(b) affecting the religion or religious rights or usages of any class of the State subjects or of persons residing within the Jammu and Kashmir State; or

(c) repealing or amending this regulation in the Jammu and Kashmir State by any agency other than the Assembly.

Where any bill was introduced or proposed to be introduced or any amendment to the bill was moved or proposed to be moved, if in the opinion of the Maharaja, the bill or any clause of it, or the amendment might affect the safety or tranquillity of the Jammu and Kashmir State or any part thereof or any part of British India, he could direct that the same should be dropped; and when such direction was given, no proceeding or further proceedings would be conducted by the Assembly in relation to that bill or clause or amendment.[91]

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It was to be lawful for any member of the Assembly, subject to such conditions and restrictions as were prescribed by the rules made by the Maharaja in that regard,[92]

(a) to ask question on any subject of general interest;
(b) to discuss such a subject and the annual financial statement.

Nothing in this regulation was deemed to affect any powers vested in the Maharaja to make laws within the Jammu and Kashmir State without reference to the Assembly.

Nothing in this regulation would be held to derogate from or interfere with the rights of the Maharaja.[93]

The Assembly would continue for three years from its first meeting, unless[94] —

(a) it were sooner dissolved by the Maharaja;
(b) the said period were extended by the Maharaja for a term not exceeding one year by notification in the State Gazette, if in special circumstances he thought it fit to do so;
(c) after its dissolution, the Maharaja might appoint a date, not later than six months

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from the date of dissolution for the next session of the Assembly.

The Maharaja would appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of the Assembly as he might think fit and could also by notification or otherwise prorogue the Assembly.

The President would preside at a meeting of the Assembly. In his absence, the Vice-President would do so, and in case of the absence of both, the senior most member would preside over the Assembly.

All matters in the Assembly would be decided by a majority of the votes of the members present other than the person presiding. He would, however, exercise a casting vote in case of an equality of votes for or against a proposed decision.

Subject to the rules made under this regulation, there would be freedom of speech in the Assembly. No person would be liable to any proceedings in any court of law by reason of his speech or vote in the Assembly or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of the Assembly.[95]

The Government of India turned down the proposals made

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by the Maharaja with regard to the reorganization of the Government of the State and the institution of a representative Assembly in the State.[96] They, however, approved that part of the proposal which the Maharaja had made with regard to the reorganization of the Council of Ministers and the High Court of Judicature.

On 24th January, 1922, the Maharaja by a formal order sanctioned, for one year in the first instance, "the Sri Pratap Reforms Regulation" and formed a State Council. The members of the Council were appointed by the Maharaja and remained in office during his pleasure.[97] On January 29, 1922, the new Council held its first meeting. Pratap Singh's Council comprised the following members[98] :

1. Maharaja Pratap Singh, as the self-appointed President of the Council;
2. the Commander-in-Chief and Senior Member;
3. the Foreign Member;
4. the Revenue Member;
5. the Law Member;
6. the Home Member; and
7. the Member of Commerce and Industries.

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Raja Hari Singh, Maharaja's nephew and heir apparent was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Senior Member of the Council. This was what the Government of India had insisted upon. The term 'Member' had generally been adopted instead of that of 'Minister'. Hari Singh enjoyed precedence over the other members of the Council. In a letter to the Political Secretary to the Government of India in Foreign and Political Department Sir Johnwood the Resident stated :

"Raja Hari Singh is now the Maharaja's accepted heir, besides being his nephew; and having already the privileged position of being allowed to transact the work of his portfolio direct with the Maharaja without the intervention of any Minister, he is unquestionably the highest placed and more privileged and important member of the State and its Government, next to the Maharaja. If, therefore, there is to be a Chief Minister -- which is quite unnecessary in my opinion -- it seems that that title could only be reasonably bestowed on one person, namely, Hari Singh, and that to bestow it on any other official is quite anomalous. The inclusion of Maharaja as the President of the Council may drive Hari Singh from the Council altogether; and were Hari Singh to leave the Council and possibly the State, the blame would lie more with the creators of the position than with Hari Singh himself. If Gen. Bishan Dass is allowed to retain the office of the Chief Minister, the tendency of

His Highness to work through such an old and trusted servant instead of through the Council of Ministers, will receive encouragement."[99]

The Foreign Member was placed next to Hari Singh; and the other members of the Council were placed according to their seniority.

The Secretary, with his establishment, was to conduct the work of the Council. The duty of the Secretary was to classify all cases according to the departments separately controlled by the Members, to prepare an agenda of all cases which were received not later than two days before the next meeting. He was also required to circulate the agenda among the Members of the Council and to take other necessary steps, including submission of files on demand in accordance with the rules and procedures of the Pratap Council for the conduct of business.[100]

The Pratap Council was to assemble at such times and places as would be appointed by His Highness.

Any matter of special urgency which required immediate

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attention could be disposed of by the Pratap Council on the advice of His Highness at an extraordinary meeting called for the purpose, or by the circulation of papers of the case concerned among the members for expression of their opinion.[101]

At any meeting, subject to the provisions of the regulation, the members could exercise all the functions of the Pratap Council. The President could appoint any member to preside in his absence over the meeting of the Pratap Council. The presiding officer would, on his part, exercise the powers and perform the duties of the President.[102]

When no unanimous decision could be taken by the Pratap Council, the opinion of every member would be recorded, and the decision of the majority would prevail.[103] The dissenting member was entitled to record his vote of dissent.

At any meeting of the Pratap Council at which His Highness the Maharaja was present, if there was a difference of opinion on any question, His Highness could, if he disagreed with the opinion of the majority, reserve his opinion or exercise a right of veto. In such a case, the Maharaja's orders had to be followed.[104]

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In case of an equality of votes (for and against) at any meeting of the Pratap Council, the person presiding at the meeting had a second or casting vote. All conclusions reached at a meeting of the Pratap Council in the absence of His Highness the Maharaja were subjected to his approval in writing. All orders and acts of the Pratap Council were deemed to have been made by the Maharaja in Council; papers were signed by the Chief Minister to His Highness or disposed of otherwise as the Maharaja directed.[105]

The Pratap Council had to make rules and regulations for the more convenient transaction of its business; and every order issued or every action taken in accordance with such rules and regulations was treated as being the order or the action of the Maharaja in Council.[106]

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# Chapter V

# CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

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## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

### Constitutional Reform

In January, 1924, the Resident in Kashmir submitted a Memorandum to Maharaja Pratap Singh at a private interview, explaining the advantages of his confining, his attendance at the Council meetings to the occasions on which a matter of first-rate importance to the interest of the State was to be discussed,[1] and suggesting the steps which would be taken towards formulating a scheme for the constitution of a ful-fledged Legislative or Representative Assembly.[2] Regarding his attendance at the Council meetings, it was suggested that he would have to inform the Senior Member to this effect before the meeting took place; the item concerned would then be removed from the ordinary agenda, and the members of the Council[3] would, for the discussion of the matter involved, present themselves at such time and place as the Maharaja might be pleased to appoint a Committee for

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the purpose; the remainder of the agenda would be dealt with by the Council in the ordinary manner.[4] After each meeting of the Council, a copy of the resolutions passed would be submitted to the Maharaja by the Council Secretary for the favour of sanction, and no resolution would be carried into effect until the approval of the Maharaja had been expressed.[5] In the event of the Maharaja's dissenting from any resolution passed by the Council, it was suggested that the Senior Member would be informed by him accordingly, that members of the Council would attend at the time and place appointed by the Maharaja, and that, after they had been given the opportunity of explaining their views on the question at issue, the Maharaja could decide whether the resolution would or would not be annulled.[6]

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In 1924, the Maharaja was finally advised to abstain from personal attendance at the Council meetings and to leave Raja Hari Singh to preside over the Council.[7] The Council was, however, strengthened by appointing Mr.B.J. Glancy, whose extension of service in Kashmir for three years was sanctioned.[8] Glancy was a favourite of both the Maharaja and Raja Hari Singh. Both of them welcomed his appointment.[9] The Maharaja thought that Glancy would act as a counterpoise to the Raja and his subservient colleagues,[10] and Hari Singh had great confidence in Glancy's ability and tact, and thought that his presence at the Council would greatly facilitate its proceedings.[11]

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By assuming the presidentship[12] of the Council, Raja Hari Singh established direct supervision over the function of the Council. The Council retained the powers it was vested with under the Constitution Act of 1924, with the exception that the powers to sanction appointments and the removals of Gazetted Officers, to hold departmental enquiries, to grant pensions and allowances, to sanction the acquisition of land over the powers granted to the Revenue Member under the State Waste Land Rules and to decide appeals against the orders of the members of the Council, were taken away from the Council.[13]

Another major reform that the Maharaja adopted was the institution of Conferences[14] of leading citizens of his State. Before his accession to the throne, the Maharaja had studied the conditions of life in the outlying areas of the State through extensive tours and obtained, at first hand and in consultation with the leading lights of the State at the annual conferences of the representatives of Tehsils, a complete grasp of the problems affecting it.[15]

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At these Conferences, representatives of the people selected by District Officers were invited to present to ventilate their grievances and to offer their advice on such matters as the opening of general and technical schools in particular localities, construction of roads and bridges, establishment of dispensaries, post and telegraph offices, extension of pastures for grazing, and other matters which, though more or less purely of local utility, were nevertheless important for the development of the country and the amelioration of the condition of rural population.[16]

Maharaja Pratap Singh died on 23rd September, 1925. Hari Singh succeeded his uncle as the Maharaja in February 1926.[17] After the accession of Maharaja Hari Singh, the Constitution Act of 1925# was amended. A new Constitution was introduced, and all the powers of the government were taken over by the Maharaja under his personal control. A Council of Ministers was placed in charge of the superintendence, direction and control of the Civil Administration. It was composed of :[18]

(1) Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade;

(2) Minister for Public Works;

(3) Minister for Revenue;

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(4) Minister for Home and Judicial Affairs; and

(5) Minister for Finance.

A Minister in Waiting was appointed to function as a channel of communication between the Maharaja and his Ministers. The Ministers were appointed by the Maharaja for such terms and conditions as he determined and, as usual, they remained in office during his pleasure.[19] The Council was presided over by the Maharaja himself and he distributed the different portfolios among them. He personally determined the functions they were to perform and the ways and means by which the work of the government was to be co-ordinated. The Minister in Waiting was not entrusted with the work of any particular department and remained without a portfolio.[20]

The matters relating to the State Army were entrusted to a Military Board which was charged with military administration. The Board was to function under the direct command of the Maharaja, who was himself the Commander-in-Chief of the State Armies. The duties and functions of the Board were defined by a separate regulation. The deliberations of the Board were presented to the Maharaja for his

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commands by the Colonel of the Staff.[21] Certain other matters, like the rights and titles of the Ruler and the ruling family, relations with the Paramount power and the Government of India, Treaties, Jagirs and Muafis, were reserved by the Maharaja for his personal disposal. Powers were reserved by the Maharaja to determine the subjects which were placed within the competence of the Council.[22] The subjects which remained outside the competence of the Council were submitted directly to the Maharaja for his commands. Matters of legislation and finance were referred to the Council of Ministers for advice. Meetings, where matters pertaining to legislation and finance were discussed, were also presided over by the Maharaja. The decisions of the Council were advisory and subject to the approval of the Maharaja.[23] There was a Head of Department in charge of each department. For purpose of civil administration, however, the State was divided into three parts, viz, the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir, and the district of Ladakh. Each province was in charge of a Governor and was divided into districts called Wazarats, each under a Wazir. Each District was

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divided into several Tehsils, each under a Tehsildar. Some Tehsils had sub-divisions, called Niabats, in charge of Naib Tehsildars. The Wazir Wazarat of Ladakh was directly under the Revenue Commissioner, who was the Head of the Revenue Department.[24]

As regards Criminal Administration, the Governor exercised the powers of a district magistrate. While Wazirs were sub-divisional magistrates of the first class, Tehsildars were magistrates of the second class, Naib Tehsildars of the third class, except in some places where the Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars exercised civil powers; in some cases they also functioned as Sub-Registrars under the Registration Act.[25] Under Land Revenue and Tenancy Acts, Governors exercised the powers of a collector; and Wazir Wazarat, those of the Assistant Collector of the first class; Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars, of the Assistant Collectors of the second class. Provisional Governors were the co-ordinating agencies for their provinces and were responsible for the time submission of various kinds of information due to be supplied to the Government or other authorities and for their correctness. In addition to the District Magistrate in each province, there was an Additional

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District Magistrate who was the de facto head of the Magistracy.[26]

An Enquiry Committee was appointed by Maharaja Hari Singh in 1927. The Committee was constituted of :[27]

(1) Sir Albion Banerjee;

(2) Rai Bahadur Rishibar Mukerjee; and

(3) Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qayoom, Secretary.

The Committee was instructed to investigate and report on :[28]

(1) the finances of the State, particularly with a view to seeing in what directions there were possibilities of growth of revenue or retrenchment of expenditure;

(2) the administrative organization of each department with a view to seeing how it was suited to the present needs and demands and to what extent reorganization was necessary;

(3) the possibility of revision in the salaries, grades and designations of the various classes of State servants;

(4) the steps to be taken to ensure recruitment of properly qualified hereditary State Subjects in all

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branches of the State services.

The Committee had authority to call for any information from the departments concerned, to summon and examine specially selected officers, as well as to call for any books or papers, and to receive such other facilities as were necessary.[29] The creation of the Committee meant at least that the whole machinery of the State was to be submitted to the scrutiny of Sir Albion Banerjee's# trained intelligence.[30]

In 1928, Maharaja Hari Singh, by his command, established a High Court consisting of a Chief Justice and two puisne judges, one being styled Judge High Court, and the other Revenue Commissioner, empowered to hear revenue appeals. The Chief Justice and other judges were to be appointed by the Maharaja and were to hold office during his pleasure.[31]

The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the High Court was extended, and it was empowered to confer civil and criminal powers on magistrates. Civil and criminal

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cases against the order of the High Court pending in the Maharaja's office and the judicial minister's office were transferred to the High Court for final disposal; but the Judicial Minister still continued to exercise executive control over the High Court in administrative matters.[32]

## The Silk Factory Agitation

After the Khilafat Movement, the repercussions of the communal situation in British India had been felt in Kashmir and matters had become complicated by issues of no apparent concern to the State Subjects.

The impact of communal tension in the Punjab had its impact immediately after the Khilafat Movement in the State ended on 24th May, 1924. The Muslim labourers of the Silk Factory formed a ring against the Hindu employees of the factory in general and against the Hindu Filatures Officer of one of the Barracks in particular. They demanded the removal of the Hindus and their replacement by Muslims.[33] The chief instigator of the movement was Gulam Mohammad Zargar, Assistant Filatures Officer. As a consequence of

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this sensation, about one hundred Muslims started conspiring against the Hindu employees of the factory at Rambagh, Srinagar. One Atta Mohammad Khan, ex-Inspector of the Silk Factory, approached the Director with the request that all the Hindu supervisors be removed and replaced by the Muslims, failing which, he said, the labourers would go on strike.[34]

For a long time the Silk Factory labourers had some grievances with regard to corruption, and insufficiency of wages. They had gone on strike on 26th March, 1920, for demanding an increase in their wages.[35] They assembled in the Hazuri Bagh, Srinagar and went in a procession to represent their grievances to Residency in Kashmir, where they were intercepted by the police. These workers then

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sent a petition,[36] to the Chief Minister in which they complained that instead of being increased their wages had been decreased. The workers also demanded an increase in their wages.[37] But the demand for having Muslims as their officials was raised in 1924.

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In July, 1924, when the members of the Salary Commission paid a visit to the Silk Factory,[38] the labourers struck work and sat in front of the factory. The Director asked them to go to their work and to allow the members of the above Commission a chance to inspect the same; but all his warmth proved in vain.[39] The labourers demanded immediate redress of their grievances. The members of the Commission returned and all the labourers went to Hazuri Bagh Srinagar where, after due consultations, they went to Gupkar to approach the higher authorities for redress of their grievances.[40]

On July 19, 1924, the District Magistrate was told at Gupkar Srinagar by the Member of Commerce and Industries, that the situation had grown very serious in the silk factory[41] and had actually resulted in breach of peace in the form of assaults being committed on sericulture officials and that

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their lives and property were in danger.[42] As the situation was reported to be critical and the attitude of the labourers threatening, immediate steps were taken by the District Magistrate, Mr. Glancy and the other members of the Council to clear the factory of the labourers without making arrests. Consequently, military troops were ordered to be moved to the Silk Factory. The Colonel Commandant was requested to place the Infantry and the Cavalry in immediate charge of the factory, so that the labourers might createno further mischief.[43] On 20th July, before 6'o clock, twenty five persons out of twenty seven were arrested quietly and without any demonstration. Out of those arrested, twenty-one were taken to the Central Jail, in Srinagar, and only four were put in custody at the Shergarhi Police Station.[44]

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In the morning a crowd of two thousand people assembled opposite to the Shergarhi Police Station and attempted to enter the station by force in order to rescue the prisoners.[45] They insisted on the immediate release of the accused. The cavalry troops were ordered to disperse the mob,[46] as a result of which ten were killed and twenty were injured. The wounded were taken to the Mission Hospital by the people and corpses of those killed were taken in a lorry by the sepoys.[47] The entire city was handed over to the military. Some rioters were arrested and handed over by the military to the police, to be dealt with according to law.[48]

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The people were ordered to keep the peace. Mirwaiz Moulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Munshi Assad-Ullah, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Khawaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandhi, Doctor Abdul Wahid, Budhey Khan, Mohi-Ud-din Gangu, Saad-Ud-Din Shawl, Mohi-Ud-din Kawoosa, etc. were instructed to see that the peace and order was maintained by the Muslims.[49]

After the trouble was over, the British Resident desired some of the educated workers of the Silk Factory to be promoted to posts of responsibility. The Resident in Kashmir in its letter to Political Secretary to Government of India wrote :[50]

> "The situation is well in hand and no further trouble is likely to occur. But it will be desirable that effective steps would be taken to remedy any real grievances and to promote some of the educated Musalman workers to posts of responsibility."

The Muslim population of Srinagar strongly protested

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against the action of the authorities and sent a number of telegrams[51] to the Viceroy expressing their resentment against the Government. On July 22, 1924, the Muslims of

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the State sent a letter to the Viceroy, in which[52] they wrote :

> "We inhabitants of Srinagar Kashmir State beg to state/request that our Maharaja has done most oppression upon us as -- he sent all his troops with guns and rifles to Silk Factory, then on the 3rd day he catched five men and sent them to jail without any legal investigation and he sent all his marshal on all the poor young boys of Silk Factory in Hazuree Bagh garden where ten men were killed and about twenty men and boys were wounded very badly. The wounded men were sent to the State Hospital but they were turned out from there... If the Maharaja would not be asked for such injustice we hope that he will kill us. The Governor and the Revenue Minister were the men who have ordered the marshall to kill the young poor boys. The marshal was done early in the morning at 7 a.m." (Sic.)

The State Government was condemned for its action against the Silk Factory labourers not only within the State, but

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also outside the State. On August 5, 1924, the Secretary of Muslim Kashmiri Conference in its telegram[53] to the Resident in Kashmir expressed :

> "Distressing news about Srinagar disturbances caused widespread alarm. Muslim Kashmiri Conference request appointment of Enquiry Committee immediately consisting of officials and non-officials including Conference representative to investigate and report into causes and results of disturbances."

The local Khilafat Committee, Lahore, convened a public meeting in this connection on August 13, 1924 under the presidentship of Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Qasuri.[54] The meeting was attended by the thousands of people. The meeting had been held to sympathise with the labourers of Silk Factory of Kashmir who had been killed by the Kashmir authorities. The Committee condemned the action of the Government and demanded the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry "to investigate the real causes of the affairs and circumstances which had compelled the Government to open fire on peace-loving and innocent labourers."[55] Criticising the State

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Government, Syed Habib, Editor 'The Siyasat', said :[56]

> "The observance of hartal is an arm in the hands of the labourers to get their rights. They are justified in demanding their rights and want only to remove the evil of giving bribe to their superiors out of their own wages. Without any serious offence on the part of innocent wage earners the Maharaja permitted to practice tyranny like General Dyer. The Kashmiris are afraid of saying anything against the treatment of the Maharaja and this is the very reason that no Kashmiri Musalman has raised his voice in Kashmir."[57]

Concluding his speech the speaker said, if the Maharaja would not admit the entrance to their Committee into the State, they would resort to the method of passive resistance and secure their entry by that means.[58]

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Similarly, the Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalmanan, Amritsar, passed the following resolution in a meeting[59] held on August 17, 1924 :

> "This meeting of the Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalmanan, Amritsar, appeals to the Foreign and Political Secretary to Government of India, Simla that the Editor Akhbar Kashmir be deputed to Kashmir to ascertain the full facts regarding the happenings at the Silk Factory and submit a report within three weeks for the information of the Anjuman."

The Silk Factory agitation was the one eruption against the existing economic organization of the State, in which the masses of the people participated and openly expressed their anger against the economics of the princely rule of the Dogras. After the Silk Factory agitation, however, the communal division, which underlined the Silk Factory agitation deepened. The Muslim distrust increased day by day and ultimately led to a separate movement against the Dogras.

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## Civil Disobedience, 1930.

After the resolution of complete independence which the Congress adopted in December, 1929, the Congress slowly prepared for a long struggle against the British. On February 11, 1930, two months after the independence resolution, the Congress Working Committee authorized Mahatma Gandhi to launch a struggle against the Government. On March 12, 1930, after previous notice to the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi began his famous March to Dandi[60]. On May 4, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi was arrested.[61] Arrest of hundreds of Congress leaders and workers followed. More than sixty thousand people were arrested.

The impact of the freedom movement in India found its echo in Kashmir also. Revolutionary posters were found displayed in public places in Srinagar and Jammu.[62]

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Besides, country made bombs were also recovered in Jammu.[63] Prompt measures were taken by the Kashmir Government to check the undesirable manifestations among the boys in the schools and colleges.[64] The teachers had been warned that if any such demonstrations occurred, the schools would be closed down and all the teachers would be dismissed from service.[65] The Resident in Kashmir wrote :[66]

> "Reports have been received which show that all is not well with the discipline and manners of the students at the Jammu High School and that the political virus at present working in the Punjab schools is spreading even into this State. I have been

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informed that some of the boys have been wearing National flags in their buttonholes, I believe that the State authorities are fully aware of the importance of taking measures to counteract undesirable activities among the students, and I am in correspondence with them in regard to the matter."

In spite of all precautionary measures on the part of the State Government, the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest in British India was followed by demonstrations in Srinagar and Jammu. On May 6, 1930, a large number of people gathered in central Srinagar and hartal was observed. A procession was taken out in Srinagar.[67] The procession passed through the city and requested the shopkeepers to close their shops. At Amirakadal Chowk in central Srinagar, foreign clothes were offered for making a bonfire of the same. Revolutionary cries, such as "Long live revolution"; "Down with Union Jack" were made throughout.[68] When the procession reached

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Maharajgunj Chowk, a bonfire of foreign clothes was again made.[69] The procession then turned to Hazuri Bagh in Srinagar, and a bonfire of foreign clothes was made there too. Meanwhile, people, led by Gwash Lal and Vidh Lal Vakil, ran up the Residency Road with the avowed intention of inducing the shopkeepers to observe hartal. They approached all the shopkeepers and entreated them to close their shops. The students also participated in these processions and wore Gandhi caps on both sides of which the National flag was embroidered.[70]

On May 7, 1930, another procession was organized at AmiraKadal in Srinagar. The college students did struck off their classes and went out in processions raising revolutionary slogans.[71] Most of the students were given a warning by the State authorities, and a written undertaking was taken from them that they would not indulge

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in political affairs and would not take any part in political activities. The Superintendent of Police warned the students that "in case the agitators do not give the undertaking they would be turned out of the State."[72] Even the shopkeeper Dilbagh Raj, who was making Gandhi caps on both the sides of which he embroidered the National flags and words like "Long live Maharaja Bahadur" or "Inquilab Zindabad", was given a warning to desist from embroidering National flags as well as from selling Gandhi caps. The shopkeeper was also asked to give an undertaking; he was directed by the State authorities to send all such embroidered caps out of the territories of the State. Orders were issued that "anyone who used the cap with the National flag would be dealt with under the prevailing laws. The display of the National flag was strictly prohibited.[73]

A search was made in the Srinagar college hostel and some students of the college were deported from the State. These students were Kishen Singh, Gandharan Sain, Ali Mohammad Khadim, Kali Kumar Gupta and Prakash Singh.[74] The Inspector

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General of Police directed the District Magistrate to "take every step under law to prevent any hartal, picketting, procession and bonfire of foreign cloth."[75]

A complete hartal was observed at Magam, Tithwal, Karnah. In Srinagar,# the demonstrations were limited to the efforts of Punjabi-Hindu businessmen and a few Kashmiri Hindus and students who could achieve nothing more serious than a partial hartal; the burning of a very small quantity of foreign cloth, and a temporary stoppage of work on the part of the students in the Sri Pratap College. Muslims did not join the Hindus in the demonstrations against the arrest of Gandhi.[76]

In Jammu, where the Muslims were very much in minority, much excitement was aroused amongst the Hindus of the city and complete hartal was observed whilst all vehicular traffic was forcibly closed.[77] The college and school students came out of their class rooms in thousands. All business establishments were completely closed. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others, including a large number of ladies, took out processions

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parading all the local streets and shouting national slogans. The processionists also made bonfire of foreign clothes.[78]

The incidents which followed Gandhi's arrest; the demonstrations, processions, bonfires of foreign clothes, and the national slogans, frightened the State authorities as well as the Resident. The Maharaja of Kashmir, promptly issued orders[79] to prohibit any demonstrations and the dissolution of the Dogra Sadar Sabha of Jammu, which had declared itself to be the "Congress Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir State."

Hari Singh ordered the appointment of a Commission to investigate the existing unsatisfactory conditions in the Prince of Wales College Jammu and the other schools in the matter of political agitation; and for the stoppage of the publication of the Ranbir, the Jammu newspaper, for having given a highly exaggerated account of the demonstrations and processions and for hinting strongly that the Maharaja and his Government had been accessory to the same and that the Maharaja actively promoted the demonstrations and showed

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indifference as long as the demonstration was nonviolent in character.[80] The Maharaja further ordered :[81]

"It is unnecessary for me to repudiate such an allegation, which carries its own refutation. I have all along held the views that it is not for me, my Government or my people to interfere in the affairs of British India, and it has been a cardinal article of faith with me to observe scrupulously my treaty obligations according to the practice of civilized Government, and not to countenance or permit any political demonstration within my territory against the British Government. It has given me great pain to find that the extracts to which I referred above violate this fundamental political principle. I hereby direct that the permission accorded to the publication of the 'Ranbir' be immediately cancelled and further publication stopped."

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Maharaja Hari Singh issued the following order on 22 July, 1930 :[82]

(1) "All meetings and processions and speeches in connection with the happenings in British India be prohibited;

(2) "All picketting be prohibited;

(3) "Instructions be issued to all Revenue officers to take action to prevent in every possible manner permeation of the agricultural classes by political agitation;

(4) "All State servants be warned against their sons taking part in politics inside and outside the State;

(5) "Instructions be issued to the department of Education to instruct all heads of educational institutions to prevent the students committed to their charge from taking any part whatsoever in politics concerning British India or the State. It would be made incumbent upon the head of every educational institution to immediately report any contravention of this order together with the names of the students who had disobeyed the orders. Such students would be immediately expelled and the police would be informed

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at once of their names and description;

(6) "Display of the so called national flag and objectionable statements like "Inquilab Zindabad" would be strictly prohibited."

Revolutionary Underground

But, in spite of the government's repressive policy the underground activities against the government were carried on by the students. They secretly encouraged the movements. In October, 1930, the students of Sri Pratap College of Srinagar collected arms to use them against prominent Europeans on the day on which Bhagat Singh was to be executed.[83] But the police surrounded the college hostel on the night of the 22nd October and recovered some proscribed literature and some cartridges. These students were arrested and later on they were expelled from the State.[84] A revolutionary poster was found displayed outside the City Munsiff's court-room at the Srinagar District Courts.

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The poster read :

"How dreadful it is to say that from under the seeming stillness of the atmosphere of Kashmir region a veritable storm is about to break out when all of a sudden and quite unexpectedly this very Valley will come down in the field to take the lead of the great worldwide revolution. O, we the very population of Kashmir - let us recollect the days of terrorizing by the military forces, bear in mind to be known throughout the world for the preference of our mental faculties, boast of the republican personalities like Nehru, moderates like Sapru and Jaikar, nationalists like Saif-Ud-Din Kichlu and philosophers like Dr. Iqbal who are the very products of Kashmir... O, Ye the young blood of this place, let us rise, forget the dozing of the days of the past, serve humanity and soar to the very height of heaven and cover every atom of the soil with the sacred blood of our sacrifices in order to attain the perpetual happiness of our lives. We realize law is law and order is order but O; our gracious Lord, can every a bureaucratic imperialistic Government, the root cause of human friction, exist in this world by force." (Sic.)

# Chapter VI

## MUSLIM UNREST

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The communal unrest in Jammu and Kashmir arose from distrust that certain particular communities were enjoying special advantages and that being more self-assertive, it was believed that they would acquire a dominant influence in the administration of the State to the detriment of the less favoured communities. The causes of communal unrest were many.[1] The main political cause of the unrest was that the Muslims of the State believed that the Hindus were in an advantageous position so far as political power was concerned. With the growth of modern institutions and the inauguration of progressive policies of the Government with a view to associate the people, a race ensued between the various communities to secure as much political power as they could. The Muslims, being in majority, did not like to be dominated by the minority community. The minority communities could not take with equanimity the prospect of their being reduced to subjection of the Muslim majority.[2] At the same time, the minorities demanded special minority rights and safeguards of which they had heard in British India. The Muslims, were sore, also

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because of their economic conditions -- low earnings and the stagnant conditions of the industries which forced the bulk of the population to resort to agriculture as the means of obtaining sustenance.[3] But the peasants had to pay the revenues; demands were heavy and this was detrimental to their condition. In all the larger villages there was a Bani or Bakal who was a Muslim huckster who depended on the villagers from whom he obtained exactions in the form of a systematic toll. Industries were not developed and standards of living were very low.[4] The inhabitants had to trek down to the towns of the Punjab to work as coolies in order to earn enough money to pay land revenue to the Feudal administration and interest to the money lender. Discontent prevailed owing to the deplorable condition of the peasants, until Maharaja Hari Singh promulgated an Agricultural Relief Act in 1927.[5] The state of economic depression which prevailed after 1930 added fuel to fire. Under the institution of Kari Barkar# villagers were required to render services for the State whenever demanded.[6]

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But the officials of the Government used to employ villagers to carry their luggage free of charge over long distances and indent on the villagers for services without any remuneration.[7]

Religion also played its part in deepening the communal distrust. This resulted in estranging the communities and pushing them more widely apart. Suspicion and distrust had taken the place of communal harmony.[8] Even trifling incidents, which would otherwise have attracted no notice whatsoever, were exploited for mischivious ends in the name of religion. This caused great excitement, particularly in the ranks of the ignorant. When the excitement rose high the mob would hurl itself recklessly into the affray, oblivious of what was right and what was wrong.[9] The Hindus and the Muslims continued to deliver lectures, which though pertaining to religious subjects sometimes tended to wound the feelings of the parties.[10] The Arya Samajists delivered speeches advocating the principle of "Shuddi" on the one hand; and on the other the Muslims campaigned for Tablig and conversion of Hindus to Islam. There had been a recrudescence of the old quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims in Kashmir as well as in Jammu. This added to the

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tensions prevailing among the people of the State.[11]

Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, visited the State in 1924. He was carried in a procession of boats over the river Jehlum as a part of the celebration of his visit to the State. Muslim crowds exhibited black flags bearing inscriptions[12] such as "Our mosques desecr ated" and "How long will Muslims be trodden down by the Hindus in this country".

While the Viceroy was in Srinagar, the Muslims submitted a Memorandum to him, calling his attention to their grievances in the State. They claimed that they had been subjected to severe repression for the last twenty years.[13] The Memorandum was actually framed by some prominent Muslims at the residence of Abdul Aziz Zaildar of Khanyar, and it was signed by the prominent men of the Muslim community, among whom were Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl, Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi, Mirwaiz Kashmir, Molvi Ahmad-Ullah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Mufti Sharif-ud-din, Moulvi Atiq-Ullah and Haji Jafar Khan. The demands made in the memorandum were as

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follows[14] :

(1) The grant of proprietory rights to the Muslims peasants to the land which had been forcibly snatched from them.

(2) The grant of Muslim representation in the State Council according to the number of Muslims in the population of the State.

(3) The grant of adequate representation to the Muslims in the services and employment of the State in order to give Muslims effective representation in the services, all future vacancies be made available to them; and in case Muslims with requisite qualifications were not locally available, Muslims from outside Kashmir be appointed till such time as the local talent was available.

(4) The appointment of an important tribunal to enquire into the complaints and to award punishment to weed out corruption from the services.

(5) The appointment of Muslims on the important posts, of Governor, Superintendent of Police, Assistant Superintendent of Police, and Superintendent of Customs; and in case Muslims with

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requisite qualifications were not available, Englishmen be appointed to the posts.

(6) The appointment of a Tribunal consisting of at least two law knowing and impartial judges, one of whom was to be an Englishman to conduct the trial of the labourers of the Silk Factory.[15]

(7) The appointment of Muslims to the higher administrative posts in the factory, as the entire labour force of the Silk Factory consisted of Muslims.

(8) The liquidation of the Department of Shali, the removal of restrictions imposed on the import of foodgrains from outside the State, and restriction of food rationing to poor people in Srinagar in order to reduce the burden on the peasants who had to pay the revenue in the form of Shali.

(9) The appointment of a Muslim or English expert in Education, introduction of compulsory free primary education, appointment of more Muslim teachers and inspectors and the grant of scholarships to Muslims for higher education in India and abroad.

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(10) The abolition of forced labour and its replacement by contractual labour.

(11) The restoration of land to their respective owners from whom it had been forcibly and illegally seized.

(12) The appointment of an elected Legislative Assembly for the drafting of a constitution for the State and the grant of adequate representation to Muslims in it.

(13) The grant of Government contracts, particularly those relating to forests, roads and construction, to State nationals in general and to Muslims in particular.

(14) The restoration of mosques and other religious properties under the control of the Government and their protection from encroachment by non-Muslims.

(15) The appointment of a Board consisting of Muslims to administer the funds spent on the repairs of Jama-Masjid and other historical shrines.

(16) The appointment of a Commission composed of impartial European Officers to inquire into the grievances of the Muslims in regard to the Zulfinnah procession, the incident at Khanqah-i-Shah-Hamadan and those relating to Islamabad and Baramullah.

(17) The Resident be made answerable for the plight of the Muslims as their rights were insecure and trampled down by the local authorities.

The Memorandum was forwarded by Lord Reading to the State Government.[16] The Maharaja presented it to the State Council for its consideration. The Council appointed a Commission of three members of the British Civil Service to go into the allegations and demands the memorandum envisaged. The Commission was headed by B. J. Glancy besides a Muslim member and a Hindu member. The Commission reported against the demands and found that the grievances had no foundation and that there was no substance in the memorandum,[17] and because representative institutions were at the time considered beyond practical politics. The limited availability of qualified Muslim youths was deemed to result in their restricted admission to the services. The demand for proprietory rights was dismissed as being based on a misconception and also because it was understood not to accord with the wishes of the main body of the tenantry.[18]

The memorandum, therefore, brought nothing to the Muslims; but it certainly gave a fillip to their movement to put forth their demands in an organized manner.[19]

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The signatories of the memorandum, who were all notables of the valley, viz., Mirwaiz Ahmadullah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Mufti Sharif-ud-din, Saad-ud-din Shawl, Hassan Shah Jalali, and Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi were taken to task.[20] The most important demand of these persons was the participation of the State subjects in the administrative services. The memorandum did not serve any useful purpose; on the contrary, it earned the displeasure of the State Council for its signatories. Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl was expelled from the State and exiled to Rawalpindi.[21] A Muslim Tehsildar, Noor Shah Naqashbandi, was dismissed from service for having intrigued against the State; Hassan Shah Naqshbandi's jagir was confiscated, and he was deprived of a cash assignment made to the family some years earlier for working in Bukhara; and Hassan Shah Jalali, the Secretary of the group, was also deported.[22] The rest of the signatories were pardoned after they had apologized. The Memorialists were not permitted to attend the Royal Darbars and other State Functions. They were debarred from attending even the condolence meeting arranged by the State on the death of Maharaja Pratap Singh. They were

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also debarred from seeking office in the State such as that of a "Municipal Commissioner or a Zaildar".[23]

The Muslim Reaction

The expulsion of Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl created a considerable reaction and much resentment amongst the Muslims. On 16th March 1925, Moulvi Ahmadullah, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir, in course of a speech delivered at Srinagar observed that the Muslims must be alive to the treatment which was being meted out to them. On the observations of the Mirwaiz, the whole gathering of Muslims collected, wept and wailed.[24] Thereafter, at the instance of Moulvi Ahmadullah, the Muslims sent another representation to the Viceroy in which they expressed disappointment on the expulsion of Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl.[25]

The representation was signed by several hundred Muslims. They also informed the expulsion of Mr. Shawl to the Kashmiri Muslim Conference and the Editor, Akhbar-i-Kashmir, Lahore, and invoked their assistance in the matter.[26] On16th March, 1925, some Muslims went to Rawalpindi to meet Khwaja Saad-ud-din

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Shawl. Among them were Haji Shafi-Ullah and Haji Abdul Qadir.[27] Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl sent a message through these men to the Mirwaiz of Kashmir and the Raush# of Kashmir that the Moulvis and the Rausa should collect an amount of rupees ten thousand through subscriptions and remit the amount to him. He wrote to them that he would then submit a representation to the Viceroy of India and back it up with the subscription collected. Secondly, he said that in case the Rausa and Moulvis did not go to help him, his cousin should go round the city and collect money by subscriptions and sent that money to him. He would then manage anyhow to obtain the royal pardon of the Maharaja and afterwards would involve the Rausa and Moulvis of Kashmir in dire difficulties.[28]

Ghulam Moh-ud-Din Kawoosa conveyed the message to the senior Mirwaiz, Moulvi Ahmadullah, who said that he would reply after thinking over the matter. Meanwhile representation was sent by the Muslims to the Viceroy. Subscriptions were raised to help Saad-ud-din Shawl and remitted to him through Ghulam Ahmad of Srinagar.[29] One Ama Sheikh, a resident

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27. Ibid.

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28. Extract from the confidential diary of the Superintendent of Police, Kashmir Province, period ending 30th March 1925, Ibid.

29. Ibid.

of Khanpura, Baramulla, with the help of Amir Shah Zaildar and a shopkeeper of Baramulla town was collecting subscriptions from the Muslims ~~ex~~ of Baramulla in realization of the amount which he was said to have advanced to Saad-ud-din Shawl at the time of his expulsion from the State. The savings, it was said, were intended to be utilized to effect the return of Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl to Srinagar. Ama Sheikh had his dealings with Saad-ud-din Shawl and he credited the money to his account.[30]

The punishment given to the signatories to the Memorandum aroused indignation and anger within the State and outside the State also. The Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu, held its annual conference on the 7th, 8th and 9th March, 1925. The most important men who attended the meeting were Hassan Nizami of Delhi, Moulvi Azmat-Ullah of Lahore, and Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah of Lahore. The meeting condemned the action taken by the State Government against the memorialists.[31]

Copies of the vernacular pamphlet entitled Ek Baat and of several other notices, which were brought by Khwaja Hassan Nizami, were distributed and then broadcast by some of the

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volunteers of the Association. The notices derided the Samajists and criticized their work in the Punjab and in the State.[32]

The Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalmanan, Gujranwala, criticized the State Government for its action against the memorialists in its meeting held on June 20, 1925. A number of resolutions were passed in the meeting. The resolutions laid down :[33]

(1) The meeting protested against the Kashmir Government for its action taken against the memorialists without the decision of any Commission of Inquiry appointed for the purpose.
(2) The meeting appealed the Maharaja to implement the feforms envisaged in the memorial and to remove the communalist elements from the administration.
(3) The meeting also appealed the Governor-General of India, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Simla, and the Resident in Kashmir, to advise the Kashmir Government to protect the rights of Kashmir Muslims who formed the majority of the population of the State and who pay the bulk of its revenues.

A Muslim organization in Gujrat, viz., the Youngmen's Muslim Association, Gujrat, also expressed its anger and regret at the action the State Government had taken against

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Khwaja Saad-ud-din Shawl and other Muslim leaders. The Association passed some resolutions in its meeting held under the presidentship of Sheikh Kiramat-Ullah, the Rais-i-Azam and Municipal Commissioner.[34] The meeting expressed its heartfelt sympathies with the Muslims of Kashmir and appealed the Governor-General and the Viceroy of India to ask the Kashmir Darbar to rescind its orders against the memorialists.[35]

The Kashmir Muslim Conference also resented to the attitude of the State Government and took up the cause of the Muslims. In 1926, the Kashmir Muslim Conference requested the Maharaja to grant to its delegation the permission to discuss the grievances of the Kashmir Muslims. But the Maharaja was not ready to receive any address from a body of outside Muslims regarding the grievances of Kashmiris. However, he showed willingness to receive any deputation from Kashmir.[36]

When these developments were taking place, Maharaja Pratap Singh died, and Hari Singh ascended the throne. The occasion of Raj Tilak ceremony in February, 1926, was signalised by a

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number of concessions which the Maharaja granted to his subjects. He lifted the ban on Saad-ud-din Shawl and permitted him to return home; the Jagir of Naqshbandi was restored; and the ban on the other memorialists was also lifted.[37]

## Joint Memorial

In June 1929, a Joint Memorial was presented by the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to the Maharaja.[38] Their representation was designed to draw attention to the unfavourable position of the Muslims in the services as well as to certain other disabilities. The Ruler, however, refused to receive the memorial and, the deputation of the Muslims.[39]

On 10th June, 1929, when Maharaja Hari Singh arrived in Srinagar from Jammu for the summer season, type-written posters, bearing the words 'Hari Singh go back' or 'Maharaja go back' were found affixed to several buildings.[40] After some time, a number of articles started appearing in the Punjab press; for

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the Muslim politics in the Punjab had a deep impact on the Muslim movement in Kashmir. Most of the journals and newspapers were patronized by the British to intimidate and pressurize the new Maharaja who had turned out to be far less submissive and obliging than his predecessor.[41] The propaganda made by the press was that the State was predominently Muslim and that the Muslim masses of the State were oppressed and exploited, and that, therefore, the Muslims deserved deliverance from the Dogras.[42] The Syasat of 6th June 1929, wrote :

> "Kashmir State authorities are meting out extremely tyrannical and brutal treatment of their Muslim subjects, whose legitimate demands are totally disregarded. They are slaughtered by the blunt weapons and no one listens to their outcry; hundreds of slaughter houses have been opened where flesh is openly sold; no one takes pity on them. The swords of the tyrant deal fresh blows, but no one stops the oppression; their helplessness knows no bounds; they are beginning to think that justice does not exist for them."[43]

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The Kashmir suggested that a deputation should be sent to England to counteract the propaganda which was being carried on there in favour of the Nehru report, because it did not protect the interests of the Muslims, who did not want to be dominated by a particular community after they had been relieved of the domination by another. This paper also advised the Muslims that they should unite to protect their interests; so long as their interests were not safeguarded they should not support any reforms.[44]

## The Reading Rooms

From 1920 onwards Kashmir produced a good number of educated young men who passed the various examinations of the universities of India but were frustrated owing to the growing unemployment among them. In 1922, these educated unemployed youngmen felt the necessity of organizing a reading room in Srinagar where they could meet and discuss the current events and their common problems.[45] An application was submitted to the Governor of Kashmir by Mohammad Sikandar, Mohammad Yahaya Rafiqi and Ghulam Ahmad Zahena for permission to open the reading room.[46] The applicants said that there were already about half a dozen reading rooms in the various parts of the town and that these had been doing nothing but good to the

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people by diffusing light and education among them. But they wanted to establish a reading room, "for the exclusive benefit of the Muslims who form such a large element in the population of the town."[47] The aim and purpose of the reading room, according to these youngmen, was to have a place where they could get literature chiefly on religious subjects.[48]

Although there was a ban on the press, platform and public meetings, there were no precise orders about the reading rooms. But all such reading rooms had to be open to inspection from time to time by the District Magistrate or any person deputed by him. It was also proposed that the District Magistrate would in future be authorized to give permission for the opening of reading rooms provided that a clear understanding was given to the effect that no proscribed literature would be introduced in the building,[49] and that no speeches of an objectionable nature would be made in the building. Before granting such permission the District Magistrates were instructed to satisfy themselves after any enquiries from the police that would be necessary as to the antecedents of the applicants.[50]

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Thus a new organization, called the Reading Room Party was formed in Fateh Kadal Srinagar in 1930.[51] The permission for it had been first sought in 1922. The members of the Reading Room elected Mubarak Shah Naqshbandi as its Secretary and Peerzada Ghulam Rasool Shah, Head Master of Islamia High School, as its Chairman.[52]

The same year, some old boys of the Islamia High School, Srinagar, began thinking in terms of organizing a new Association to be named as 'Old Boys Association'.[53]

A meeting was held on 7th September, 1930, in the compound of Islamia High School. According to a decision taken at this meeting, a letter was sent to the District Magistrate to seek his permission for the establishment of an Old Boys Association.[54]

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The President of the Association, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai assured the District Magistrate that the "Old Boys Association' is like other Associations of Punjab and India, which have made the progress and prosperity of their nation, their goal and are trying to engage themselves in reforming the community in its various aspects."[55]

However, the permission granted was subjected to the conditions: [56]

(i) that all meetings would be held in open;

(ii) that no politics would be discussed;

(iii) that President had to give an undertaking before the establishment of Association that he and the executive committee would confine their activities to the aims and objectives mentioned in the application; and

(iv) that no such speeches would be allowed which would in any way create disaffection among the various communities.[57]

## Muslim Deputation

In 1930, Maharaja Hari Singh left the State for England at the invitation of His Majesty's Government to attend the

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round table conference on Indian political affairs.[58]

Maharaja Hari Singh, who was also the Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, presided over at two largely attended informal meetings of the Indian States' Delegation at St. Thomas' Palace. A general discussion was held on the attitude to be adopted by the Delegation towards the subjects affecting the States likely to arise at the Round Table Conference and on the method of procedure best calculated to ensure that the general views of the delegation would be clearly and effectively formulated. The meeting referred to a committee of Ministers for detailed examination of a number of constitutional and practical issues.[59]

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During the period his absence Maharaja Hari Singh's administration of the State was entrusted to the Cabinet composed of the Ministers who enjoyed the Maharaja's fullest trust. Those Ministers were : [60]

(1) Major General Rai Bahadur Janak Singh;

(2) Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield;

(3) Mr. P. K. Wattal;

(4) Thakur Kartar Singh.

In a message to the people of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh said, that the Cabinet would maintain constant touch with him and would be responsible for the good Government of the State during his absence.[61]

## The Recruitment Board

The Maharaja gave instructions to the Cabinet to constitute a Recruitment Board.[62] Instructions were given to them that,

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"the specific policy of the Government would be to adjust communal proportions in the services, with due regard to mitigating unfairness to the men already in the employment of the State." As there was no Muslim either in the Cabinet or in the Civil Service Board, the nervousness thus caused was, however, dispelled by the assurance that, even in regard to lower grade appointments, instructions had gone forth that they should be awarded equally between the Hindus and Muslim candidates.[63]

For the higher posts, under the rules made by the Recruitment Board, a candidate was entitled to apply only if he [64]

1) had a 'good health certificate' from the Chief Medical Officer, certifying that none of the members of the candidate's family had suffered from any contagious disease;
2) was below the age of twenty;
3) deposited fifty rupees at the time of applying.

The candidate had to pass a competitive examination to qualify for appointment.

On 11th September, 1930, a representation signed by two members of the Reading Room, Abdul Aziz Fazili and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was sent to the Cabinet government. In this they

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complained against the Civil Service Recruitment rules.[65] On October 6, 1930, the Secretary of the Cabinet government Thakur Kartar Singh, invited the signatories to discuss their grievances with the Cabinet.[66] On October 16, 1930, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Abdul Aziz Fazili went to attend the Cabinet meeting; and they were told that the Civil Service Recruitment Rules had been framed with the specific purpose of securing their interests. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah warned the Cabinet government of the consequences if it failed to protect the rights of the Muslims of Kashmir. "The Cabinet government, however, did not attach any importance to this warning, and considered it merely an expression of the frustration of an aggrieved young man." A written reply was despatched by the Cabinet on January 28, 1931.[67] The reply stated that the Muslims were duly represented in the various departments of the State. The Members of the Reading Room were not satisfied with the reply; it only enraged them.

## All India Muslim Conference

Meanwhile a propaganda campaign against the State Government was let loose from Lahore and other cities of the Punjab by the Muslim press.[68] "Leaflets and Journals containing stories of the deliberate supression of Muslims in the State were

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distributed in thousands among the people, instigating them to rise against the Maharaja who, it was alleged, was dominated by his Hindu officers." The State Government, according to the authors of the propaganda literature, was entirely Hindu and was determined to keep the Muslim majority in perpetual serfdom. The Anglo-Indian press joined the chorus of denunciation of the Maharaja and his Government.[69]

In December, 1930, the All India Kashmir Muslim Conference, founded in 1911 at Lahore, held the annual session in Lahore. It was attended by some young men from Jammu.[70] The meeting alleged that hardly any Muslim teacher was noticed in the Government schools and that no action had been taken on the report of Mr. Sharp, Director-General of Education in the Punjab. In connection with the enforcement of compulsory primary education, the meeting regretted that the Town Inspectors happened to be non-Muslims. They hoped to become a thoroughly advanced community if the Maharaja had bestowed some amount of care on them as he did on the Rajputs.[71]

In February, 1931, Gauhar Rehman[72] convened a meeting in spite of the protests of the Imam of the mosque in Jammu.

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In this meeting resolutions were passed requesting the authorities to put a stop to the present system of election and to reserve for Muslims a definite number of seats in the Municipal Department, and to repeal the law entailing confiscation of property on the change of religion. In February 1931, he was appointed member of the deputation led by the Nawab of Dacca, which was formed with the object of preparing a memorandum and waiting upon the Ministers to secure the rights of Muslims in the State.[73] Meanwhile the Cabinet met and decided to prohibit the entry into the State of the deputation led by the Nawab of Dacca.[74]

## The Khutba# Incident

On 29th April, 1931, a Sub-Inspector of Police, C. Chemchand, interfered during the celebration of Id-u-Zakar in Jammu and tried to stop the recitation of the Khutba.[75] Although the matter was taken to the Inspector-General of Police, who immediately suspended the Sub-Inspector, the members of the Youngmen's Association broadcast the report

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that "the Muslims had been gagged from performing their Namaz on the 'Id day'".[76] Posters were issued and a protest meeting was convened at 5 p.m. at Talab Khatikan, Jammu city. It was arranged by the Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu. The meeting was presided over by Mistry Hussain Baksh. Choudhry Gauhar Rehman Secretary of the Association, pointed out to the public that the "Sub-Inspector on duty should have been dealt with by the Muslims at the very moment when he tried to ~~to~~ stop the Moulvi Atta-Ullah Shah Bukharl, from delivering his Waiz, without any reason." Gauhar Rehman complained that the administration of the State was not functioning properly as the Muslims of Kashmir were discriminated against in every sphere of life -- social, economic, political and religious.[77] He said :

> "The conditions under which the Muslims of Kashmir live are known to the entire world. Our political suppression and educational backwardness were sufficient to ruin our life. Our little residual religious freedom is now being crushed. We remained silent when we saw the State ignoring our economic backwardness and poverty; we did not utter a single

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76. History Sheet of Gauhar Rehman.

77. Ibid.

word when things lawful for us were made unlawful -- For God's sake, tell us how long we shall be forced to remain mum. Muslims should now make every effort to live a life of peace and honour."[78]

## The Bagore Incident

On the same day on which trouble arose at Jammu, another incident occurred at Bagore in Samba Tehsil, about fifteen miles from Jammu. In Bagore a water tank was jointly used by the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus claimed that the tank belonged exclusively to them.[79] On the days of 'Id, Muslims used the water from the tank for their ablutions. The police on duty apprehended breach of peace and conducted an enquiry; finding that in the past also all the Muslims used to perform their ablutions in the tank, he withdrew without interfering with them. His investigation, although precautionary in nature, took some time to complete. This, however, provoked a complaint that the Muslims had been held up and the 'Id Namaz was delayed. The Muslims of Bagore sent a deputation to Jammu and conveyed their grievances to the Youngmen's Muslim Association.[80]

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Police Line Incident

On June 4, 1931, another incident occurred at the police lines in Jammu.[81] It was alleged that certain Muslims scriptures had been desecrated, "that a Hindu Head constable found a Muslim constable reading the Quran and told the constable to stop reading such 'non-sense' had finally took the book from his hands and threw it away."[82] It so happened that a Head constable at the Central Jail remonstrated with a constable who had not folded up his bedding and was reading the Quran at a time when he should have left his quarters, the Head constable threw the bedding on the constable's box, and a copy of the Punj-Surah, which had been on it, fell to the ground accidentally.[83] Immediately after the incident, the constable wrote two petitions to his superior officers, and a third to the Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu.

On 5th June, 1931, a public meeting was organized by the Youngmen's Muslim Association where fifteen thousand people were present.[84] In this gathering Gauhar Rehman stated that

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he looked with hatred on the action of the head constable Labh Ram, in disgracing the Quran at the Jail and "that the Reserve Inspector in not allowing the performance of Namaz in the lines". He exhorted the audience to infuse life in themselves. He pointed out that the other communities were moving about in motor cars, while they had not even toy cars in their homes, and even ordinary meals could not be afforded by them. He said further that the Muslims were not even able to purchase khaddar cloth.[85]

The Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu, issued a poster calling upon the Muslims to hold meetings of protest throughout the State.[86] On 6th June, 1931 in a gathering of two thousand people, Gauhar Rehman delivered a speech. He asked the public to accept Ghulam Abbas as their Imam and to be prepared to sacrifice themselves at his feet. He said, "these slogans were such as shook the throne of Kaisar and these might have also shaken the Bahu Fort." (sic) He also announced that 11th June, be observed as a day of mourning for the insult offered to the Holy Quran.[87]

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The Maharaja commanded Mr. Wakefield to proceed to Jammu to investigate the matter. Mr. Wakefield reported that the Muslim constable was to blame for mis-stating the facts and causing communal tension, which could have led to a breach of peace, and that the Head Constable was blame-worthy for losing his temper resulting in unhappy consequences.[88] After going through the report, the Maharaja consulted two Mirwaizes of Kashmir. They came to the conclusion that no insult to the Quran had occurred and that what had happened was purely accidental.[89] But the Muslims were not satisfied with the judgement delivered in the case. They protested that the Hindu offender had been treated mildly, because he was "merely retired on pension after a fairly long service", while the Muslim had been dismissed from service.[90]

Meetings of Muslim Leaders

The posters were issued in Jammu on 5th June, 1931 calling upon the Muslims to hold meetings of protest throughout the State. It reached the Young Muslim Party called the Reading Room Party in Srinagar,

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which consisted largely of unemployed Muslim graduates. These youngmen distributed the posters among the Muslim public. Although police prevented the copies of this poster being pasted in Srinagar city yet the posters were read by a large number of people at various places.[91]

The incidents in Jammu created a severe reaction in Srinagar. The posters were issued on 5th June, and on 8th June some young Muslims convened a meeting in the Jama Masjid at which the action of high State officials was criticized. It was urged that the rights of Muslims were being trampled upon by them.[92] In consequence of this meeting, on 9th June, the Governor of Kashmir sent for the leading Muslims of Srinagar and requested them to use their influence to control their young co-religionists. But they were unlikely to be able to exercise much control over the young extremists. On 9th June, 1931a meeting was held in Jammu by the Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu.# In the meeting Gauhar Rehman

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put-forward the demands they wanted to have fulfilled by the Government.[93] These demands were :

1. Formation of an Assembly in the State with the Muslim members constituting 77 percent of its total membership;
2. Freedom of press and platform;
3. Representation of Muslims in the various branches of the State administration on population basis;
4. Allotment of funds from the Dharmarth for the construction of mosques;
5. Opening of military schools in Jammu and Kashmir wherein Muslims and Rajputs would receive training; and
6. Cancellation of the law that treated Bakerwals as Criminal Tribes.

Ban on Newspapers:

The 'Quran incident' was the subject of impassioned comment in the Punjab Muslim papers. This incident received a good deal of publicity in the Muslim Outlook which published the correspondence between the Kashmir State Government and the All India Muslim Kashmir Conference, Lahore, concerning a proposal that a Committee of Muslims from outside the State

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should be allowed to hold an enquiry into the incident.[94] Permission for the Committee to enter the State was refused.[95] The ban placed on the introduction of certain Muslim newspapers and on the entry from time to time of prominent Muslim leaders from India into the State probably contributed to the agitation among the Muslims, with the result that the relations between them and the Government were giving cause for anxiety.[96] Meanwhile the Government issued a notice prohibiting the holding of public meetings within the premises of Jamia Masjid without the prior permission of the authorities.[97]

The members of the Reading Room Party attached no importance to the notice and continued to hold public meetings.

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In the meanwhile, the different sections of Ahmadiyas, Khanqashis and the Nasrat-ul-Islam organized parties for agitation.[98] On June 18, 1931, Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah invited the Presidents and the Secretaries of the various Anjumans to attend a meeting to consider the draft of demands to be presented to the Maharaja. It was prepared by the Young Men of the Reading Room Party.[99] Ghulam Mohammad and Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din of Khanqah-i-Mualla, Srinagar, visited Baramulla and Sopore towns of Kashmir on 20th June, 1931 and asked the leading Muslims to inform every Muslim in Baramulla and Sopore through the beat of drum about the draft of demands.[100]

On June 20, 1931 the draft of demands was unanimously approved in the meeting which took place in the office of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, where the members of all the local Anjumans were brought on to a common stage. Abdul Rahim was permitted to hold a public meeting of Muslims on Sunday, June 21, 1931 at Khanqah-i-Mualla on the clear

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understanding that nothing beyond the points noted in the application would be discussed or spoken in the meeting.[101]

The purpose of holding the meeting was to elect some men to form a deputation which would wait upon His Highness the Maharaja to urge their claims. The meeting was held on 21st June, 1931, at Khanqah-i-Mualla. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai said that the Government had graciously permitted them to elect their representatives to bring their grievances before the Government. He then read out the names of the Muslim representatives. These representatives were[102] Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah Hamadani, Moulvi Yousuf Shah, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Sayyed Hassan Shah Hamadani, Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl and Mr. Shahab-ud-din.

After Ghulam Ahmad Ashai had nominated the representatives, he proceeded to describe the desirable qualifications of each representative as follows:[103]

1. He should be well educated;
2. He should have an independent character;
3. He should have no personal interest that might be in conflict with the common interest.

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Ghulam Ahmad Ashai then asked the public whether the persons had the requisite qualifications; the audience responded in the affirmative. Moulvi Yousuf Shah, who presided over the meeting, said in his address that the people would achieve their object only if all sections of the community remained united and worked together.[104] When the meeting was about to end, a non-Kashmiri Muslim, Abdul Qadeer Quraishi, a resident of Peshawar, who was in the service of an European visitor T. B. Butt of the Kings Yorkshire Light Infantry, Peshawar, requested the organizers on the stage that he should be permitted to express his ideas about the Muslims in Kashmir. Abdul Qadeer delivered a fiery speech in which he attacked the State government and the Hindus in the State. He exhorted the Muslims "to rise against the Dogras and destroy the Hindus and burn their temples and shrines."[105]

Qadeer was arrested on 25th June, 1931, under sections 24-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, because the speech was calculated to discredit the Government and to bring about communal hatred.[106]

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Meanwhile, the Muslims of Jammu ~~and~~ told Mr. Wakefield who had gone to Jammu to inquire into the police line incident, that they also had certain grievances which they wanted to submit to the Maharaja. Mr. Wakefield replied that they had a right to present the grievances to the Maharaja. Thus they selected four representatives and sent them in the third week of June to explain their case to the Maharaja.[107] Before going to Srinagar, one of the representatives, Gauhar Rehman, exhorted the audience in Jammu that during their absence from Jammu, they should carry on their work very enthusiastically, assuring them that they had the outside Muslims at their back. He rhetorically asked what the fate of the Hindus would be if thirty lacs of Muslims retaliated against the boycott instituted by the Hindus against the Muslims. He said that they were going to Srinagar in the form of a deputation and that they did not know what their fate would be. Whether they would be interned in the Bahu Fort or the Hari Parbat Fort.[108]

The Jammu representatives left for Srinagar on 23rd June, 1931, and arrived there on June 27, 1931. They were received by about three hundred people at Batwara, Srinagar.[109]

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They were lodged in houseboats from Amirakadal to Khanqah-i-Mualla, to avoid demonstrations of the people in the bazars. In Srinagar, they were reinforced by seven representatives, who were prominent local leaders, so that they could explain their case jointly to the Maharaja.[110] But for a long time they could not approach the Maharaja.

Speeches were delivered by the Muslim leaders at different places where they tried to prepare the Muslims for civil disobedience and preached a boycott against the Hindus. These leaders sought to instigate the Muslim masses to join the agitation, assuring them that the Muslims of other countries were ready to help them.[111] The repercussions of this situation were felt in Jammu in the social boycott of each other by the members of the contending communities. As the situation was worsening, the Maharaja decided that only that community would be heard which assured the Government that it had taken steps to stop agitation in its own sphere.[112] In these circumstances, the Maharaja issued a proclamation to all his subjects on 9th July, 1931.[113] The

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Maharaja proclaimed that he had no desire to suppress the legitimate requests and the voice of the people, whether expressed in writing or in speech, but he was unable to solve the problem so long as the communal tension existed; therefore, he requested the leaders of the various communities to take immediate steps to put a stop to all political activities which were a barrier in the re-establishment of friendly relations between the various communities. The Maharaja was prepared to receive and consider any representation submitted by any community provided that the particular community responded to his desire. He said that every person could practise his own religion, subject to the paramount necessity of maintaining public peace and public order.[114] For recruitment in the State services he laid stress on public interest so that no one class or community gained undue predominance in any branch of public service, and so that adequate representation could be secured to duly qualified hereditary State subjects from all classes and communities. The police had been instructed to act impartially and with ~~ex~~ calm judgement in the time of emergency.

Concluding the proclamation, the Maharaja said,[115] "it is easy to excite public feelings by misrepresentations, but it

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is difficult to restore harmony and friendship." He asked the outside people, both Hindus and Muslims, not to interfere in any way in matters concerning the State and his people, as he did not like to interfere in the matters concerning British India, and British Indians. He tried to maintain the progressive character of his administration. "But this end", he said, "is defeated by unjustifiable outside intervention which has, within the last few weeks done nothing but immense harm to the true interests of you all. I pray to God that you will receive the light of truth and wisdom and that you will live peacefully and happily with one another as before."[116]

Qadeer's Trial

After having arrested Abdul Qadeer, the State Government put him on trial.[117] The trial began on 6th July, 1931, in the court of Pandit Kishen Lal Kitchloo, District and Sessions Judge, Srinagar. The accused was defended by Moulvi Abdullah and Peer Qamar-ud-din pleaders; while the Government was represented by the Public Prosecutor.[118] About a hundred

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Muslim youngmen were present in the court at the time of the hearing; and when the accused was brought out of the court room, they shouted the slogans "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad" in the court compound. It was also expected that a large number of people would attend the hearing of the case the next day.[119]

On 7th July, 1931, the prosecution evidence in the sedition case against Abdul Qadeer was concluded in the court of the District and Sessions Judge, Srinagar. Charges under sections 103 R.D.B / 124 A.I.P.C., 120-B, R.D.B. and section 6 of the Seditious Meetings Regulation were framed against the accused. The case was adjourned again for 9th July, 1931. ~~Thm~~ As usual, a crowd of Muslim youngmen gathered outside and inside the court room to witness the proceedings of the case. When the accused was being moved to the Judicial lock-up, these men shouted the slogan "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad" in the court compound and outside, on the road.[120] The case came up again on 9th July, 1931, before the District and Sessions Judge, Srinagar. After the arguments were heard from both the sides, the court adjourned the trial till 13th July, 1931. The defence counsel

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was directed to move the proper quarters in the meanwhile for transfer of the case. A crowd of Muslims, more numerous than before, gathered outside and inside the court; and when the accused was being moved to the lock-up, slogans were shouted by them as before.[121]

There were demonstrations every time when Abdul Qadeer was brought to the court or taken back to the judicial lock-up after hearing of the case was over. Every time a huge crowd of Muslim young men gathered outside in the court compound and inside the court room and shouted slogans. To avoid the recurrence of such happenings, and to prevent an agitation due to political excitement, the authorities decided to conduct the hearing of the case within the premises of the Central Jail, Srinagar.[122] The Magistrate accordingly, proceeded to the Jail on 13th July, 1931 for the purpose of conducting the case. A huge crowd of Muslims, estimated at about five thousand, assembled outside the Jail.[123] At first the crowd was orderly; but shortly afterwards, it got out of hand and demanded admittance into the Jail to hear the proceedings. When the Jail-guard refused to allow

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121. Ibid.

122. From the Resident in Kashmir, No. P-9-C/30 dated July 17, 1931, National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, July 1931, File No. 18.

123. The Musalman, July 16, 1931, p. 5.

the mob into the Jail, they began to hurl showers of brickbats and stones at the guard and also set fire to the Jail-guard's quarters.[124] The Magistrate, who has had to conduct the trial, telephoned for help before the telephone link was cut.

The crowd, then charged down on the police guards, three of whom had already been seriously injured by stones and brickbats. The guards then opened the fire and nine of the mob were killed.[125] The Jail firing led to widespread communal riots in Srinagar,[126] there was an uprising at several places at the same time at Vicharnag, Nowsharah and Maharaj Gunj. A quarter of the city inhabited almost exclusively by Kashmiri Hindus and Punjabi Hindu traders was attacked by the Muslims who looted large quantities of goods, scattered what they could not loot on to the streets and committed indiscriminate assaults.[127] There was a complete hartal; colleges,

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schools, offices, banks and post offices were closed.[128] Meanwhile, the State authorities rushed down all the troops and police available into the riot effected areas. In the night hours, a whole battalion of infantry, which had been in a training camp sixty miles away, was brought in by motor lorries.[129]

G. E. C. Wakefield recommended to the Maharaja, the immediate arrest and internment of six leaders; three of them had come from Jammu and the other three were in Kashmir. These persons were Ghulam Abbas, Gauhar Rehman, Yaqub Ali, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Abdul Rehman and Ghulam Nabi. Wakefield stated that the actitities of these men, and their being allowed to remain at large were a grave danger to public peace.[130] The three Muslim leaders of Jammu were arrested that night and taken to the quarter-guard at Badami Bagh, Srinagar, and confined there. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was arrested the next day by Brigadier Sutherland at the Jama Masjid; Abdul Rehman and Ghulam Nabi were arrested later on. All the six were then interned in the Hari Parbat Fort in Srinagar.[131]

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On 14th July, the people who had died in the Jail firing were burried.[132] Orders were given by Brigadier Sutherland to Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah, who was apparently the most influential man present at the Jama Masjid, that no more than fifty persons be permitted to accompany the bodies from the Jamia Masjid to the burial ground.[133] Brigadier Sutherland accompanied the bodies to the burial ground and was present during the burials. All shops remained closed; the communities were in a state of hysterical fear of each other; strong assaults took place, but no deaths were reported.[134]

On the morning of the 15th July, 1931, a small band of demonstrators stoned at a military patrol and attempted to snatch the rifle of a sepoy, with the result that one man was Killed and two wounded. The agitation spread to Anantnag, Sopore, Shopian and other towns of Kashmir; the troops were ordered to open fire to put down the disturbances.[135] The real danger that was faced was the repurcussion of these events at Jammu and on the communal situation

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in the British India. So far as could be judged from the British Indian newspapers,[136] the Muslim community was very much excited over what they considered to be the grievances of their co-religionists in Kashmir.

The appointment of Raja Hari Krishen Koul

After the riots, the whole Muslim population was in a very restless and sullen condition. The Hindus also were very panicky. The Muslims obstinately refused to open their shops, and all efforts on the part of the State Government authorities to induce them to do so proved unsuccessful.[137] But the Maharaja was determined to restore normal conditions as soon as possible. He made a major change in the Government. He called Raja Hari Krishen Koul and offered to appoint him Hazur Minister, a new post, practically the same as that of the Prime Minister. He assumed the office on 26th

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July, 1931. His main objective was to restore the State to the conditions of peace and normalcy.[138]

On July 31, 1931, under the orders of the Maharaja all the political prisoners were released. These six leaders, who had been interned in the Hari Parbat Fort immediately after the riot of 13th July, were released in the hope that this concession "would have a sotthing effect upon the Muslims of the State". Before their release they gave an underteking that they would refrain from encouraging agitation and communal feeling in the State.[139]

The same day, a number of prominent Muslim jagirdars of the State from Muzaffarabad District of Kashmir Province arrived in Srinagar and assured the Maharaja of their unfaltered loyalty, and offered to place at his disposal all their resources at the time of emergency. The Maharaja had shown his desire to meet the reasonable demands of the Muslims by the appointment of Khan Bahadur Mirza Sir Zafar Ali Khan, former Judge of the High Court, as Home Minister in the Kashmir Government.[140]

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After their release on 31st July, 1931, the leaders of Kashmir asked for a personal interview with the Maharaja to explain the grievances of the Muslims of the State. Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to grant the leaders of Kashmir an interview on August 6, 1931; but the leaders of Kashmir received letters from the Muslim organizations outside the State urging them to "continue the agitation for the present."[141] Accordingly, they excused themselves from attending on the Maharaja on 6th August, 1931, on the plea that they had not had the time to reduce their grievances to writing. His Highness then ordered them to be present on the 10th August; but on this date also they failed to attend, on the plea that they had not received due notice of the date and hour. They were then given the 12th August for the meeting but again they failed to attend. It was evident that their object was to procrastinate until after the 14th August, 1931, which had been fixed as the Kashmir Day. Thus the appointment was given to them again on 15th August, 1931.[142]

<u>The Kashmir Day</u>

Through the intervention of Muslim sympathisers outside the State, 14th August was set apart under the name of

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Kashmir Day and was celebrated in many parts of the country; viz., Ferozpur, Delhi, Surat, Mysore, Gurakhpur, Bombay, Calcutta, Simla etc.[143] Meetings, processions and demonstrations were held to express solidarity with, and support for the Muslims in Kashmir. These meetings adopted resolutions which demanded :[144]

1) The rights of freedom of speech and expression, freedom of press, plat form and association, and proprietory rights in land to the peasants in Kashmir as enjoyed by the peasants in the Punjab;
2) Removal of restrictions on conversion from Hinduism to Islam;
3) Securing 70 percent of the appointments in the State services to the Muslims;
4) Punishments to be given to the persons who interfere with the religious practices of Muslim subjects of the State;
5) Establishment of a legislature in the State;
6) Restoration of mosques, shrines and other sacred places to the Muslims;
7) Reinstatement of all the officials who had been dismissed or suspended in connection with the

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the political agitation;

8) Compensation to be given to the dependents of the persons killed, injured or disabled during the agitation;

9) Appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the conduct of civil and military officials during the agitation.

The Kashmir Day was also celebrated in the State. The people wore black badges on their arms. A public meeting was held at the Jamia Masjid; it was attended by about five thousand persons.[145] A procession of about four hundred students was taken out. Resolutions were passed in which the Government was asked to remove the officials who had acted prejudicially towards the Muslims,[146] to release the political prisoners, and to appoint an independent Enquiry Committee. Besides, sympathy was expressed for the Muslims who had died and for those who had been wounded.[147]

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The Meeting with the Maharaja

The Muslim representatives waited upon the Maharaja on 15th August, and presented an address.[148] The representatives were Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Yaqub Ali, Munshi Shahab-ud-Din, Ghulam Abbas and Gauhar Rehman.[149] The Memorial was a long one and it contained, a series of accusations against the Hindus in general and against the administration of the State and the Prime Minister in particular. It contained allegations that "false evidences were being fabricated and that influence was being brought to suppress true evidence given before the Riots Enquiry Committee."[150]

The Maharaja gave his reply on 23rd August. With regard to the grievances against the Prime Minister, the Maharaja appreciated "the conduct of the State Executive headed by the Prime Minister in the matter of recent jail riots and the commendable sense of responsibility with

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which it was discharged to obvious duties."[151] Accordingly, the Maharaja expressed his unwillingness to displace the Prime Minister in whom he had confidence and disapproved of the charges referred in the memorial,[152] as unfounded.

Temporary Truce

The Muslims were again discontended but on August 26, 1931, the representatives of the Muslims met the Prime Minister, and an undertaking was signed by them and the Prime Minister to suspend the agitation.[153] The undertaking on behalf of the Muslims was as follows :[154]

1) That the agitation which had been carried on so far would be completely stopped, and no speech would be delivered either in religious places or in public meetings, which would create feeling of hatred against the Government, or any class of the Maharaja's subjects;

2) That the leaders would announce in public gatherings in Jamia Masjid as well as in other mosques and shrines that the Muslims subjects of the Kashmir State would not be affected in their affairs by outside agitation, and that

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they would remain steadfast in their loyalty and devotion to their ruler, His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, from whom they entertained full hopes of the consideration of their legitimate demands;

3) That an appeal would be made to the sympathisers of the community that pending decision as regards the demands which they might present, no such action be taken as might injuriously affect the calm atmosphere needed for a favourable consideration thereof;

4) That the undertaking aimed at would not involve any abrogation of the ordinary law in force for the time being;

5) That the Prime Minister had displayed great magnanimity in dealing with the requests of the Muslims. Therefore they expressed their gratitude to him for his kindness and sympathy. They also requested the Prime Minister to consider their demands when they would be presented.

The undertaking was given by Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah, Mirwaiz Hamadani, Syed Hassan Shah Jalali, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Yaqub Ali, Shahab-ud-Din, Ghulam Abbas and Gauhar Rehman.[155]

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The Government, in turn, gave an assurance that :[156]

1) On the announcement regarding complete cessation of agitation which had been made in the cities and towns of the State, the officers of the Government would suspend all such measures as they had taken during the disturbances under the law in force for the time being for the supression of the agitation.

2) The High Court would be moved for the release on bail of persons accused of rioting at the Central Jail and who had been committed to court, and for the suspension of their trial pending the report of the Enquiry Committee.

3) The cases of those officials who had been dismissed, suspended or degraded in connection with the agitation would be reconsidered, and if they were able to furnish assurances that they would take no part in agitations, they would be reinstated.

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All India Kashmir Committee

The All India Kashmir Committee was formed on July 25, 1931 at Simla.[157] The members of this Committee were[158]: Sir Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Khawaja Hassan Nizami, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Khanjpura, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmad, the President of the Committee, Khan Bahadur Rahim Baksh, Syed Mohsin Shah, Mohammad Ismail Gazanavi, M. Nur-ul-Haq, . Habib Shah, Maulana Hasrat Mohani of Kanpur, Maulna Mohammad Yaqub, Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan, Maulana Shafi Daoodi, M. Hassan Shahid Suhrwardy, Maulana Zafar Alam, Najih-ud-Din, Mian Jaffar Shah and Maulvi Abdul Rahim Dard who was the Secretary of the Committee.

The dynamic forces behind the Kashmir Committee were Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmad.[159]

On August 3, 1931, Abdul Rahim Dard sent a letter to the Maharaja, suggesting that a deputation, consisting of Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Khanjpura, Khawaja Hassan Nizami, Khawaja Rahim Baksh and Moulvi Ismail Gazanavi might be permitted to

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visit Kashmir in connection with the Kashmir situation.[160] But the Maharaja did not accept the proposal on the ground that normal conditions had been restored and the things were steadily improving; and the "visit of any deputation is bound to create fresh excitement and misgivings."[161]

On August 5, 1931, another telegram was sent by the Head of the Ahmadiya community to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, requesting that a deputation be allowed to visit Kashmir. The telegram stated:

> "Agitation in Kashmir acute and deeprooted. Besides there is great agitation among Muslim about Kashmir and Your Highness receiving deputation may help easing situation while persistence in refusing deputation of such responsible and respected public men will surely increase misgivings of Muslims."[162]

On September 9, 1931, the Prime Minister sent his reply to the Secretary of the Kashmir Committee in which he said that any member of the Kashmir Committee could visit Kashmir in a private capacity provided no speeches would be delivered by them. But the members failed to have negotiations with the Kashmir Government.[163]

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Orders were accordingly issued by the provincial District Magistrates for the detention of these persons at Kohala and Ramkot in the Kashmir province and at Suchetgarh and Jammu in the Jammu province.[164]

## The Ahrar Activities

The Ahrar# movement in India began with the establishment of the All India Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam at Amritsar in 1931, with Habib-ur-Rehman as its President and Daud Ghaznavi and Mazhar Ali Azhar as its Secretaries.

Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was a political organization consisting of a group of politically orthodox Muslims who were under the influence of the Congress to some extent. The Working Committee of the Ahrar Party consisted of men who were Congressites

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and advocates of joint electorate.[165] Some of them were members of provincial or local Congress Committees. Hissam-ud-din, for instance, was paid up to Rupees one thousand per month by the Congress; and as were Mazhar Ali and his associates.[166] The aims and objects of the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam were[167]:

1) To work for the economic, educational and social uplift of the Muslims;

2) To awaken political consciousness and to infuse the spirit of Islam into Muslims; and

3) To strive for the freedom of the country by peaceful methods.

The Ahrar movement was confined to the urban middle and lower classes of Muslims in Punjab. These men had a definite following, but a large percentage of the following was of the

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sweepers of the cities, the unemployed who were glad to be fed, and perhaps ~~as~~ clothed for their services. The Ahrar leaders failed to attract the support of decent Muslim opinion for themselves in order to satisfy their ambition to exist as an individual entity.[168] They were of the opinion that by being absorbed in the Congress they would lose their entity and that on the termination of the Kashmir agitation against the Hindu bureaucracy their attention would be directed to the future constitution of India and to the adopted means to secure a proper share in the Punjab and to fight against the British or the Hindus, whosoever, usurped their rights.[169] They rejected the Congress formula regarding the settlement of the communal question. After that they launched a peoples' movement in Kashmir and carried on intense propaganda against the Jammu and Kashmir Government.[170]

On Ist September, 1931, the Ahrar-i-Islam party collected about four hundred volunteers in Sialkot, to lead them ~~to~~ into the Jammu and Kashmir State, as the entry of their deputation had been refused earlier. Raja Hari Krishen Koul, however, sent

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a conciliatory letter to Mazhar Ali Azhar, the leader of the proposed deputation, cordially inviting him and his two companions to come to Kashmir in their personal capacity to see the situation for themselves. Mazhar Ali Azhar accepted the invitation.[171] On September 4, 1931, a deputation consisting of Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Afzal Haq and Maulana Ghulam xf Faried reached Jammu. Gauhar Rehman, a leader from Jammu told Ghulam Abbas to narrate the Kashmir affairs to the deputation. Accordingly, Munshi Mohammad Tufail, Ghulam Abbas and some other persons described Kashmir affairs to Fazal Haq and told him to base his enquiry on these lines.[172]

Mazhar Ali Azhar exercised a restraining influence on the local Muslim leaders who had failed to formulate any demands upto-date and none of whom had appeared in person before the Riots Commission; their views had been given in evidence before the Commission.[173]

## The Aftermath

The Kashmir agitation had for the time being subsided, owing mainly to the conciliatory action of the Kashmir Darbar towards its own subjects and in allowing the Ahrar-i-Islam,

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Mazhar Ali Azhar and two companions to visit Jammu and Kashmir in a private capacity. But the greater the excitement aroused in the Punjab, the smaller were the prospects of successfully assisting the Muslims in Kashmir. The extremist Muslim politicians and journalists of the Punjab were trying to exacerbate the relations of the communities. Bitter writing in the press was contributing to a further deterioration of the communal situation.[174] The Punjab Government had proscribed certain publications under section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure on the ground that they contained matter "causing disaffection" and the publication of which was punishable under section 3 of the Indian States Act 1922.[175]

In respect of the situation in Kashmir, the weight of the Muslim attack in the Punjab was concentrated on the ruler of the Kashmir State and his administration; and viewed as an illustration of solidarity in support of the Muslims, it was causing concern in Hindu circles.[176] The conciliatory attitude

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adopted by the Kashmir Government towards Mazhar Ali had led to the charge by the Hindus that the Government was giving way to the Muslim agitation.

On 1st[177] and 5th September,[178] 1931, two representations were sent by the Sanatan Dharm Young Men's Association to the Prime Minister. In these representations, the Kashmiri Hindus criticized the understanding reached with the Muslims after the July riots. They said that the Government had bargained with those very people who were believed to have fomented the riots. One of the representations stated :

> "An association like ours, which claims to represent the public cannot detach itself from the thoughts and feelings of the public. It can, to a certain extent, curb, educate and guide its constituents. But it cannot do more. It cannot fly in the face of whole community of intelligent and educated men. The least that the Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Association could do in the circumstances was to express itself strongly against the settlement. The Urdu text, in which "Sharait" serves for both 'undertakings' and 'concessions', looked like a treaty between two high contracting parties."[179]

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The representations blamed that the Hindus had been treated unfairly in the matter of recruitment to public offices. It said, "This being the case, the apprehensions of the Hindu public were natural, especially as the provisional settlement makes mention of larger settlement regarding Muslim demands to follow."

Besides the representations, speeches were made by a Kashmiri Hindu, Kashyap Bandhu. Under the auspices of the Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Association, Srinagar, a meeting was held at Shitalnath in the first week of September, 1931.[180] Pandit Kashyap Bandhu advised the Hindus to learn to do everything unitedly. He said, that if the Government did not accede to their just and legitimate demands, there would be hartals observed in schools, colleges and offices, and black flags hoisted on every household. He told them to beware of traitors in their midst and unite. He greatly opposed the irresponisble utterances indulged in by the Kashmiri Hindus that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was to address a meeting of Hindus at Sheetalnath and that Kashyap Bandhu was to speak from the platform at Jama Masjid.[181]

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Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz told the Hindus that they only wanted food for their bellies; they did not demand any rights, nor did they take up swords, or raise a hue and cry, or spread discontentment or disaffection; but they only wanted to live themselves and let others live as well. He told them to consider what was happening at that time in Europe and America as a result of the unemployment; he stated "the Goddess of Freedom and Liberty is coming over after crossing the seven seas to free this land of India." He then told the audience how their ancestors like Nayat and Namat collected money not for their selfish aggrandisement but for improving the lot of their fellow-beings and their nation, and asked them to emulate their example in this respect. He assured them that the money thus raised would be utilized by the Yuvak Sabha for mitigating the distress and removing the poverty of the poor, unemployed and retrenched people, and for carrying on social reform and for other social, religious and political disabilities that overtook the Hindu community.[182]

Kashyap Bandhu was arrested on September 8, 1931.[183] This resulted in demonstrations on that day in Srinagar. Troops were called out as a precautionary measure, and the crowds dispersed peacefully late in the evening. Kashyap Bandhu and other Hindu leaders who were arrested for their threatening

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attitude to the local Police Superintendent, were later on released on bail.[184]

Arrest of Leaders

The Hindus were blaming the Muslims for the breach of peace; the Muslims, on the other hand, pasted manuscript posters at several places in the city and other towns. The posters held the Hindus responsible for any breach of peace.[185] Meanwhile, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his statements warned the Government to abide by the terms of the truce, and condemned the action of the Hindus towards the Muslims. He told the public to keep the peace although the terms of the truce had been broken by the Government.[186]

Speeches accusing the Government to perfidy had been inflammatory effect even if accompanied by an exhortation to keep the peace. Two specific cases of alleged breach were brought to the notice of the authorities by the Muslims. The first was that the Muslim police official who had been investigating the destruction of the Sangam bridge in July 1931 was replaced by a Hindu official whom the Muslims regarded as being inimical to their interests, and that thereafter some

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Muslims were arrested in connection with the burning of the Sangam bridge. The second case was that when some representatives went to Anantnag to announce the terms of the truce, they found that one Ghulam Mohammad of that area had been sentenced to imprisonment by the local Munsiff that very morning xxrx for having failed to furnish a security under section 107 Criminal Procedure Code.[187]

On the 19th of September, the Muslim representatives met at the house of Saad-ud-Din Shawl and thence went to the Governor to discuss the alleged breaches of the temporary understanding. The discussion was not completed. On 21st September, some of the representatives went to see the Governor; while the others, including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mufti Jalal-ud-Din went to the city to make collections of money.[188] Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Jalal-ud-Din were arrested by the Deputy Inspector General of Police because Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made a political speech which was a breach of the understanding he had with the Government to refrain from agitation.[189]

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The arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on 21st September was followed by a popular agitation by the Kashmiri Muslims. Immediately after Abdullah's arrest became known in the city, the Muslims closed their shops. A crowd assemble around Abdullah's house where two magistrates were present to conduct a search. The search was prevented by the crowd until the arrival, of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah, who told the crowd to disperse and himself remained present during the search. The Mirwaiz told the crowd to go the Jamia Masjid. They went in a procession under the leadership of Abdul Samad; at the Jamia Masjid they were told to come again next morning.[190]

Demonstrations of protest were organized at the Jamia Masjid in Srinagar on 22nd September, 1931. Police and military forces were sent to prevent processions, which were prohibited under the existing orders. In the subsequent clash two policemen were severely beaten up while the troops were heavily pelted with stones. Over thirty of them received injuries. Of the public, four men were killed and six or seven wounded. In consequence of the agitation caused by this affair, curfew was imposed and section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was put into force.[191]

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Demonstrations and meetings were organized at different places in Srinagar. Most of the processions were dispersed by the police. Two processions one in Maisuma Bazar, and the other of children in Gawkadal were also dispersed by the police. But three men were killed as a result of this clash.[192]

On 23rd September, Muslims assembled in the mosque to take out a funeral procession which was not allowed until the afternoon. When permission was given, the procession was taken out without any untoward incident.[193] As the situation in Srinagar had become worse, police and military pickets were in evidence everywhere.[194] These events did not take long to reach Islamabad, a town about fifty kilometres away from Srinagar. On September 23, 1931, a meeting was held there and a procession was taken through the streets to express sympathy for those who had suffered in the Srinagar riot. According to the communique issued by the Darbar, the public was warned that no demonstrations, processions or meetings would be permitted. On hearing of this order, the demonstrators assaulted the policemen with stones. The police attempted in vain to make the mob disperse after the meeting; troops were summoned;

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the police opened the fire and nineteen of the mob were killed and five constables wounded. The people were not allowed to carry the dead bodies in a procession for burial. The bodies were, however, permitted to be buried on September 25, 1931 at a place close to the shrine of Reishi Sahib in Islamabad.[195]

## The Declaration of Jehad

On September 24, 1931, posters were pasted in the entire city, stating that the Muslims had declared Jehad against the Maharaja's Government. The Superintendent of Police was asked to arrest three Muslim leaders viz. Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi. But the police failed to arrest them: their houses were already guarded by numerous crowds. Soon after they were told that the police had gone back, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi left their homes and went to the residence of Saad-ud-Din Shawl at Khanyar. About fifteen thousand people from Srinagar and other adjacent villages and towns assembled at Khanyar.[196] These people were armed with all kinds of weapons they were having at their homes; for the day before, Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah had called upon the people to assemble at Khanyar with the weapons.[197] In Shopian also the demonstrators assaulted the policemen, with the

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result that a Head constable was beaten to death. The mob then entered the police station and burnt the records and other State properties. The police opened the fire. Two persons were killed and some others injured.[198]

In the evening, the Maharaja met a deputation of seven Muslim leaders, including the three wanted men, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Ahmad Asnai and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi. This deputation demanded immediate release of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other political prisoners and the dismissal of Raja Hari Krishen Koul as Prime Minister. But the Maharaja was not prepared to dismiss the Prime Minister, and the deputation withdrew dissatisfied.[199]

Public meetings were organized in Jammu also where they protested against the arrest of leaders in Kashmir and the loss of life caused by military firing.[200] In order to restore law and order, a special notification on the lines of the Burma Ordinance was issued in the evening of September 24, 1931.[201] On September 25, the armed forces took complete control of the situation. The political leaders were arrested; they included

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the three wanted persons, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi.[202]

On September 28, 1931, a private meeting of the All India Kashmir Committee was held at Lahore at the house of Khan Bahadur Rahim Baksh. At this meeting the following decisions were taken :[203]

(1) A telegram be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy, in which the Government would be asked to intervene in Kashmir affairs;

(2) Muslims should boycott Koulson Matches manufactured in Sharda Factory, belonging to Raja Hari Krishen Koul;

(3) Removal of Raja Hari Krishen Koul and Sir Mirza Zafar Ali, from the employment in Kashmir as their actions had proved detrimental to Muslim interests.

(4) A telegram be sent to the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference to draw the attention of the Home Department to the treaty made between Raja Gulab Singh and the British Government, at the time of ceding Kashmir, to the effect that Government servants in British India would not be given posts in Kashmir;

(5) A deputation be sent to the leaders of the Ahrar, so that, while continuing the work on their own lines, they would not oppose the All India Kashmir Committee.

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Abdul Rahim Dard, Secretary to the Head of the Ahamadiya Community, speaking about the Kashmir affairs, said that the Maharaja had better obtain an English Minister who would inspire confidence in the Kashmir Muslims and act as a liaison officer between them and the Darbar. He said that the members of the Maharaja's Council had no common policy and so worked against each other and failed to inspire any confidence[204] in the public.

General Amnesty

The 36th birthday of the Maharaja fell on 5th October, 1931. On this day the Maharaja made a proclamation[205] announcing:

"Recently a regrettable change in the attitude of some of my subjects was clearly noticeable. Considering the trend which events were taking across the border, there was a danger of the conflagration spreading to my territory and unfortunately this has come to pass." He said :

"If in any instance of disability has been imposed in regard to any of these matters, it has been due to inadvertence. The Chief Justice has made a pronouncement in a recent case which can still remove any misunderstanding which may have been created. I desire to impress upon all Government servants that it is their duty to see that the religious susceptibilities of no section of my subjects are hurt in any way."

204. Letter from the Senior Officer in Srinagar, 28th September 1931, National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, 1931, File No. 10/28.

205. Manchester Guardian, London, October 6, 1931.

The proclamation further stated,[206] "It will be within the experience of many persons that parents have at times to use force in bringing refractory children to order. But the parent has not the heart to continue to punish a child after it has ceased to be disobedient. What applies to parents in their dealings with children applies to the rulers of Indian states in dealing with their people." The Maharaja announced in his proclamation that :[207]

(1) the ordinance promulgated on September 24, 1931, would be withdrawn with effect from the date of the proclamation, as he no longer felt the necessity for it;

(2) the other emergency measures would be abrogated at the earliest possible moment;

(3) troops would be withdrawn immediately from the Srinagar civil area to which they had been posted to cope with the situation;

(4) all persons interned or under trial for offences against the State or convicted under Notification No. 19-2 of 1924 would be released;

(5) all pending prosecutions for offences against the State as distinguished from offences against

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persons and private property would be withdrawn, and police inquiries into other similar cases would be dropped.

The Maharaja also declared that if any section of the people of the State desired to submit their grievances they would receive the Maharaja's sympathetic consideration.[208]

The announcement made by His Highness on the occasion of his birthday granting amnesty to political prisoners was an entirely spontaneous action on his part and not due to any pressure as stated in the Muslim Outlook of 12th October, 1931.[209] The Maharaja in his proclamation re-affirmed that there was no law or Government order which prohibited Azan or Khutba or any other religious rite and performance. He said that the existing enactments regarding cow-killing were contained in the Ranbir Dand Bidhi which represented the Kashmir State edition of the Indian Penal Code.[210]

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## THE MEMORIAL

In response to the Maharaja's proclamation of 5th October, 1931, the Muslims decided to present their demands on October 19, 1931.[211] The leading Muslim leaders[212] made up a deputation. These leaders were, Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah, Mirwaiz Kashmir; Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah; Mirwaiz Hamadani; Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl; Syed Hassan Shah Jalali; Ghulam Ahmad Ashai; Mohammad Yaqub Ali; Munshi Shahab-ud-Din; Sheikh Abdul Hamid; Ghulam Abbas; Qazi Gauhar Rehman and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

These representatives drew up a petition suggesting some reforms and improvements.[213] They said :

> "A long series of unbearable hardships and disabilities under which we have been labouring has forced us to the conclusion that without the reforms and improvements contained in this memorial, the lives of the Muslim subjects of Your Highness will continue to be extremely miserable."

They observed that no single individual could, without the help and co-operation of others, look after the welfare of a vast territory like Jammu and Kashmir. "Neither can good laws alone, without the help of sympathetic

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officials, bring about any good result." In spite of certain good laws, they said, the Maharaja's subjects could not enjoy peace and prosperity unless they were afforded suitable opportunities to influence and criticize the work of the executive responsible for the observance of the said laws. Even for the enactment of good laws the "help and co-operation of people are essential"; for without knowing from the people their real needs and requirements no truly good laws could be made. After these introductory remarks, they submitted that except for the royal person of His Highness, the Muslim subjects of the State had lost all confidence in the officials of the State to the extent that they could not even wait till such time as would be required for the framing of a reformed constitution and its subsequent introduction. They further said that the delay involved would "be looked upon not as something essential, but as a ruse, for putting off the needs of His Highness' Muslim subjects". They requested that in order to allay the aforesaid misgivings and to convince them that the State Executive was ready to help in the fulfilment of the good intentions of His Highness, a declaration of policy covering the following points should be immediately made :[214]

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(1) All those officials and officers of the State who had immediately before or during the disturbances offended the religious feelings of the Muslims or in any way interfered with their religious practice be properly punished after due enquiry.

(2) All mosques, graveyards and other sacred places, together with their original attached property in the possession of the State or transferred by the State to a third party, be restored to the Muslims.

(3) All those persons who had been dismissed, suspended, degraded or otherwise punished in any respect in connection with the political movements be reinstated or restored to their posts, positions or grades. Their relations should not be made to suffer in any way on their account.

(4) Suitable compensation be granted to the relatives of those who were killed during the disturbances and also to those who were disabled therein.

(5) The cases of such political offenders as had been convicted for some alleged act of violence or its abetment and had failed to appeal be gone

into by His Highness in order to find out whether their offences really amounted to violence.

(6) Appointment of an independent Commission to enquire into the conduct of the State officials, the police and the military, towards the people during the days of the political disturbance.

(7) Enforcement of the same law in the State for freedom of speech and for the establishment of Anjumans and Associations as obtained in British India.

(8) That the Muslim subjects of His Highness would in future be treated fairly. A declaration might be made immediately to the effect that there would be perfect religious freedom in the State and that conversion would entail no confiscation of property in favour of relatives as it was in practice.

(9) Lastly, His Highness'subjects could enjoy real peace only when they had their right to an effective share in the legislation of the State and of criticizing the administration conceded to them. Any legislation to secure this end would however, require time. Therefore, His Highness' Muslim, Hindu and Sikh subjects as well, thought it necessary that at least an immediate assurance might be given to them to the effect that in future they would be treated in accordance with some definite constitution, and a

declaration would be immediately made that His Highness' Government would be carried as on constitutional principles.

After the demands were presented, meetings were held in the Jamia Masjid and Khankah-i-Mualla on 20th October, 1931. In these meetings it was announced by the Muslims that if their demands were not granted within ten days they would resume the agitation.[215] Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other Muslim leaders were preparing the masses everywhere to resume agitation. They exhorted the Muslims to wear green shirts and scarfs and to be ready for any sacrifice.[216]

In Jammu, on behalf of the Youngmen's Muslim Association, four leaders, namely, Gauhar Rehman, Allah Rakha Sagar, Mohammad Amin and Ghulam Qadir were nominated for the purpose of launching a civil disobedience campaign.[217] Before this,

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Gauhar Rehman had all along been working as General Secretary of the Association.

In a meeting held under the auspices of the Youngmen's Muslim Association, he said, that the brethren of Kashmir were compelling them to submit a memorial of demands so that the outside world might learn that they asked for demands and did not raise agitation in vain.[218] He explained how the Tanziem# could be organized and that the present Jatha Bandhi## was adopted as they had to face the Government which might thus be affected financially. When the reins of the Government would be in their hands, they would show full hospitality to the Jathas. The people should make arrangements for the Jathas of Jammu. He protested against the alleged remarks of the Prime Minister that the Muslims of the State were not themselves capable of submitting their demands; he pointed out that every child of their was competent enough to present their demands.[219] He reiterated that the stoppage of Khutba and dishonour done to the Quran had blackened the

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face of the Kashmir Government. He added that he had given an ultimatum, and that if the Government did not change its repressive policy, he would lead a '<u>sarfarosh Jatha</u>'# to Suchetgarh and share the calamities of his brethren; but as at that time he had to proceed to Srinagar, Shri Ghulam Qadir, his second dictator would remain in charge; and he exhorted the people to obey him.[220]

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# Chapter VII

# BRITISH INTERVENTION

# CHAPTER VII

## BRITISH INTERVENTION

### Hindu Agitation

While the Muslims announced that if their demands were not granted within ten days they would resume the agitation, the Hindus and other communities were restive about the Muslim agitation.

On October 24, 1931, a memorial of demands was presented by the Kashmiri Hindus to the Maharaja. The signatories to the memorial were Jia Lal Kilam, Janardhan Teng, Prem Nath Bazaz, Kashyap Bandhu and Damodhar Bhat.[1] The memorial stated that long before the Muslims of Kashmir had become politically conscious, it was Kashmiri Hindus who fought for modernism in the administration; it was they who first raised the cry of Kashmir for Kashmiris; it was they who first demanded a legislature, a free press and a free platform. The memorial read :

"They cannot go back today on their nationalism, repudiate these and other essentials of a good government. Recently, they have not been so vocal on political reform, but the reason is that the Muslims

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have presented their claims avowedly on communal grounds, and for communal ends. Kashmiri Pandits are as anxious as any other community for the introduction of constitutional government, but they are equally anxious that the body politic should not be corrupted by the canker of communalism."[2]

The memorial embodied a long list of grievances which the Kashmiri Hindu community had against the Government. These demands were :[3]

(1) Establishment of a resolute Government exclusive of jobbery and nepotism, and assignment of the positions of highest authority to men of tried worth, Indians or Englishmen;

(2) Proper arrangements for the protection of law abiding citizens, their property, their homes and their places of worship against attacks, loot, arson and incendiarism;

(3) Stoppage of discrimination against the Kashmiri Hindus and provision of the same facilities for their education as were given to other communities;

(4) Tackling of the unemployment problem in the interest of the State, and encouragement to Kashmiri Hindus in the field of agriculture;

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(5) Removal of all restrictions on the sale, mortgage and transfer of agricultural land in favour of Kashmiri Hindus and launching of a brisk industrial programme;

(6) Stoppage of communalism in the body politic in any form.

(7) Granting to Kashmiri Hindus the right of joining the military department;

(8) Establishment of a legislature free from all taint of communalism, a free press and a platform, and strong measures against those who preached hatred between different classes of people;

(9) Recommendations for a scheme of reforms, a joint free conference which would take into account the future of Indian states in general; and

(10) Granting equal opportunities to all communities to present their points of view.

Ahrar Movement

It was in the beginning of the September that the activities of the Ahrars in connection with Kashmir assumed significant proportions. By the date of the proclamation made by the Maharaja, the news of the renewal of disturbances in the State had reached the Punjab.[4] On October 4, 1931, Mazhar Ali

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the dictator of the Ahrar-i-Islam, who had previously been permitted to enter the State as a guest and to see things for himself, set out from Sialkot for Jammu with a Jatha of sixty men. The Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot, issued an order under section 144, criminal procedure code, and in the end arrested the whole Jatha. Later on, they were released after a proclamation of amnesty was made by the Maharaja.[5]

In spite of the amnesty, on the morning of October 6, 1931, Jathas of Muslims, numbering several hundred crossed the State border at various points.[6] Clashes occurred between these Jathas and the villagers living in the State, with the result that some members of the Jathas were injured. The volunteers were captured by the villagers and handed over to the State troops or police.[7] Mazhar Ali was held responsible for the renewal of the agitation. Government invited Syed Budhe Shah, an Honorary Magistrate of Amritsar to Kashmir in case he would be able to exercise any control over the Ahrar leaders. He was said to have considerable influence over Hissam-ud-Din. But the Ahrars were not ready to come under the influence of any one. While the Honorary Magistrate

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tried to help the Government, "the Muslim women proposed to perform Syapa* in front of his house."[8]

On October 8, 1931, the State Government telegraphed the two Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab asking them to prevent Jathas invading the State territory. It also asked the Punjab Government to exercise special powers to deal with Ahrar Jathas.[9] The Punjab Government did not accept the proposal on the ground that "this irregular procedure might lead to awkward consequences in Districts where the Deputy Commissioners are inexperienced."[10] The same day, another letter was sent from the Maharaja to the Resident, in which he blamed the outside agitators for their support given to the Muslim agitators in the State which made it difficult for the Maharaja and his government "to rely on straight forward dealing with them."[11] He said that he always desired to make a reasonable settlement with the people of the State and that took a step in the direction of conciliation and

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pacification, while the Muslims broke their undertakings and continued the agitation. The Maharaja wrote :[12] "His Excellency will thus realise how difficult the situation has been for my Government. The whole aim and object of this outside agitation has been to force the hands of the British Government to intervene and when that long-looked for moment arrives, incite my Muslim subjects to submit such extravagant demands and grievances as to make future rule by me impossible." The Maharaja showed his willingness to meet any just and reasonable demands of the Muslims and that they could submit their demands direct to the Maharaja.[13]

The Maharaja declared that whatever decision effecting Muslim demands would be taken by his Government, would be made public just as the report of the Riot Enquiry Commission had been made public, and it would then be for all concerned to judge whether action taken had or had not been just and adequate. About the suggestion of the Government of India to

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accept the services of a British officer, the Maharaja said : "I have no objection to a British officer as such. But at the same present juncture, the appointment of an officer by the Government of India, whatever his nationality, will undermine my rule and render it impossible." By bowing to the wishes of the Government of India, the Maharaja thought that his authority in his State would be lost and would take twenty years to recover.[14]

Meanwhile, messages were sent from leading Kashmiri Muslims to their co-religionists in the Punjab, asking them to call off the Jathas, with the result that on October 9th, the State Government was able to announce that the Jathas were returning to the Punjab and that the persons who had been detained by the State authorities were being sent back there in lorries.[15] Mazhar Ali, accompanied by three companions including Hissan-ud-Din of Amritsar arrived in Srinagar. Several so-called leaders and the members of the Qadian Party, Syed Habib, Editor of the Siyasat, who was connected with the Kashmir Committee, and Zafar Ali, Editor of the Zamindar, also came to Srinagar.[16]

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On October 19, 1931, a number of demands were presented by the Muslims of Kashmir to the Maharaja. On October 27, 1931, the Maharaja told the Prime Minister that he would call the representatives of Kashmir and a decision about their demands would be taken in the presence of the members of the Kashmir Committee; for the Kashmir Committee had warned that no decision should be taken in absence of the leaders of this Committee. They laid stress on a joint decision which, they said, would help the Muslims of Kashmir, because a quick decision would be taken on those matters which were very urgent.[17] But the Prime Minister again met the President, Kashmir Committee and said, "The Government is trying its best to give the Muslims their basic rights". He also said that they had already talked over this matter with the members of All India Kashmir Committee, Abdul Rahim Dard and Maulana Ismail Ghaznavi,[18] who were already in Kashmir and that when a decision was taken, they would inform the Kashmir Committee.[19]

The Maharaja issued general orders on 29th October, 1931,[20] that if any persons who were so dismissed, suspended or degraded had not been reinstated, they would be at once reinstated on furnishing the necessary assurance for taking no part in agitation.

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Another notification was issued by the Kashmir Government on 29th October, 1931. According to the notification the Maharaja decided that the Pather Masjid and the ground attached to it would be restored to the Muslims of Kashmir on certain conditions. The conditions were :[21]

(1) that the mosque should be used as a mosque;
(2) that no speeches other than purely religious should be made in the mosque or in the compound attached to it;
(3) that charge should be made over to the person who would be nominated by the different sections of the Muslims in Srinagar by means of a unanimous application of their representatives to be presented to the Maharaja.

The same day, another order was issued by the Maharaja which envisaged :[22]

(1) the rescinding of the special tax on the goats owned by nomads known as Bakarwals; and
(2) the announcement of the State Government that it would be ready to decide on their merits any applications for restoration of any other sacred places which were in the possession of the Durbar.

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While the Maharaja was trying to solve these problems, Mazhar Ali, head of the Ahrar Party, was trying to induce the local Muslims to ask for full responsible Government; but the proposal for such government was not favourably received by the Kashmir Government. The Ahrar leaders were sore over this and also because their co-operation in the presentation of demands was not sought.[23] They came to know that Qadiani opposed them.

Ahrar-Qadian Differences

The return of the Ahrar-i-Islam leaders from Kashmir in a bad temper led to renewed agitation. This took the form at first of very bitter and organized attacks on the Qadiani leaders. The Ahrars thought that the Qadianis, through their influence on the constitutionally inclined All India Kashmir Committee, had secured several points over the Ahrar leaders in Kashmir itself, because the demands presented by the Kashmir Muslims represented the views of the Qadiani Party and also of the All India Kashmir Committee, and because there was considerable influx of the leading leaders of the Qadiani community into the State.[24] In fact the Kashmir Committee and the Qadianis both distrusted the Ahrars.

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The Syasat of 31st October, 1931, criticizing the policies of the Ahrars, wrote that if Mazhar Ali's party had been honest, it should have in the first place worked in co-operation with the Kashmir Committee; and if this had not been possible, it should have given an opportunity to the Committee to carry on its work and should not have come into the field until it had been proved that the Kashmir Committee did not want to do work. If the Ahrars were of the opinion that the work regarding Kashmir should not be entrusted to the Kashmir Committee, it was their duty to invite the Muslims of different schools of thought and formed a united party after placing their views before them. But in this way they would not have been able to collect funds and subscriptions which was their real object.[25] "If there had not been an opportunity of making money out of it, surely the Ahrar would not have interfered with this work."[26] The members of the Kashmir Committee believed that the sole object of the Ahrar to make money was clear from the fact that when they could not find any reasonable objection against the Kashmir Committee they laid the foundation of discord by raising the Qadian question. The Syasat wrote:

> "Ahrars failed to realize that the six persons were themselves followers of different creeds. One of them is a Shia, another is Wahabi,

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the third is a Suni-Wahabi, the fourth is Hanafi, the fifth a follower of the doctrine of naturalism, and the sixth has no religion at all. From this strong heterogenous body an objection against Qadianism was very funny."[27]

In spite of this Mirza Sahib agreed to resign the presidentship of the Kashmir Committee on the condition that Ahrars should work in co-operation with general Muslim public and in accordance with the wishes of the majority they should daily submit the accounts.[28] The Ahrars refused to accept this offer, they believed that the ultimate aim of the Ahmadiyas was to make followers of the Ahmadiya sect in Kashmir.

While the Muslim press of India severely condemened the Ahrars for their selfishness, Abdul Rahim Dard of the Kashmir Committee told the Muslims that the demands submitted to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur were originally drafted by the Qadiani Party and then approved by the Government of India. He said that "the Ahrars asked for full responsible Government; it was against the wishes of the Government of India and should not be asked for."[29]

Meanwhile Mazhar Ali started organizing fresh bands of volunteers to march into Kashmir. On October 30, 1931 he along with his one hundred followers, entered Jammu but he

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was arrested along with the volunteers.[30] The renewed agitation put a fresh strain upon the authorities responsible for keeping the peace in Sialkot, where the situation at times became dangerous. On 31st October, the movement suddenly and quite unexpectedly gathered momentum. One thousand, six hundred and thirty four persons in all crossed the border between Sialkot and Jammu and were arrested by the State authorities.[31] The same day, a procession, organized by the Youngmen's Muslim Association, passed through the streets of Jammu. It imitated a Hindu funeral procession. A copy of the report of the Dalal Committee was carried on a bier and was ultimately burnt in the courtyard behind the Youngmen's Muslim Association office in the Urdu Bazar, Jammu, at a place known as Ghazi Camp.[32]

On November 1, 1931, by the movement of more numerous bands from Sialkot and by activities of the same sort on a smaller scale on the Kashmir border at Mirpur near Jhelum and at Kohala, the State Government felt that these threats were having a disturbing effect on the internal situation in the State. The Muslim State subjects in Mirpur refused to patrol the border and the Jammu leaders who had signed the petition of demands presented

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on October 19, 1931, after their return to Jammu, threatened to start civil disobedience if the demands were not conceded in full within twenty four hours.[33] A procession organized by the Youngmen's Muslim Association, led by Allah Rakha Sagar, Member Youngmen's Muslim Association, left the office of the Muslim Association to traverse the city on November 1, 1931. It included some twenty-seven volunteers who carried copies of the proscribed newspapers and announced that this was a sign of the fact that they were performing Civil disobedience and transgressing the State laws.[34] These volunteers, who were wearing white clothes, were photographed near the Dak Bungalow before the procession started. They were then joined at the Youngmen's Muslim Association Camp by several groups of volunteers wearing red and other coloured uniforms. But the twenty-seven demonstrators were arrested after the procession had passed through many of the main streets in the city.[35] After the arrest of Allah Rakha Sagar, Gauhar Rehman was nominated the "dictator" in place of Allah Rakha Sagar to lead another Civil disobedience procession on the next day.[36]

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By the evening of the Ist of November, two thousand three hundred and seventy six Ahrar volunteers were arrested at Suchetgarh, Jhulki and Bajra, the three main entry points from Sialkot.[37]

After the arrest of Allah Rakha Sagar a meeting was convened at Jammu by Gauhar Rehman. He requested the Raja of Poonch that "the Zullum perpetrated on the Muslims there should be removed and the respectable persons who had been exiled should be allowed to enter the State." He told the audience that the Government which did not want to talk to them was bowing before their feet and that the demands presented by the Kashmiri Muslims would be granted soon. He thanked All Rakha Sagar and Ghulam Qadir for enlistment of volunteers. He advised the volunteers to keep beddings and gram with them and pointed out that the Government had only six thousand soldiers who were divided in Jammu, Kashmir and Gilgit, but they had there at Jammu only two thousand soldiers who kept under control thirty two lacs of individuals. "The secret" he said, "lay in organization, and the Muslims should also organize themselves." Attention was also drawn to thirty two lacs being ruled over by six thousand Dogras. He then exhorted the audience to complete their work.[38] Gauhar Rehman thanked the Ahrar Committee

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for despatching Jathas. He also thanked the audience for giving him an opportunity to serve after All Rakha Sagar. He said: "We have not forgotten the Koran; an ordinary sub-inspector who was meant to protect their shoes could not have prohibited Khutba and gone alive. There will be the rule of labourers and workmen, although Maharaja Hari Singh may continue. The government cannot live as it has offered disgrace to the Koran."[39]

Gauhar Rehman told the audience that the programme presented by Allah Rakha Sagar required money, and asked them for ~~u~~ funds. He then congratulated the audience on the arrest of Allah Rakha Sagar and his Jatha, and threatened picketting of the college if the Principal, who was alleged to have forbidden the students to apply for leave due to Nimaz, was not dismissed.[40] In the capacity of "dictator" he asked the ~~sudsk~~ audience to break the law which stood as an obstacle in the path of their progress. He also censured the family of Raja Hari Kishen Koul, Prime Minister, and moved the question of no-tax campaign.[41]

In the meeting it was also arranged to send telegrams from Sialkot to the newspapers and to His Excellency[42] the Viceroy. On the other hand, the State villagers joined the

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Jathas on the Mirpur border and refused to patrol as they had been directed, with the result that there was a clash between the State forces and the Jathas at Mirpur in the course of which one member of the Jatha was killed and two others were wounded.[43] It so happened that many of the villages near the Sialkot border were inhabited by Muslims; the many of these men gave assistance to the Jathas; in some cases they offered assistance at the time of their arrest. On the other hand, the presence of Muslim Jathas marching through or close to the Hindu majority villages could not but lead to friction. In fact, there were clashes between the Jathas and the villagers or between the State troops and the Jathas supported by the villagers.[44] These incidents led to great excitement and to a serious incident at Top.

Top Incident

On November 2, 1931, the situation became so serious that the State Government was compelled to ask for the aid of British troops both at Mirpur and Jammu. On that day, the Ahrar Jatha which had entered the State territory had been involved in a fracas with the Rajput villagers of Top, a

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43. From the Resident in Kashmir, No.F-R-C-30 dated 17th November, 1931, National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, November 1931, File No. 18.

44. National Archives of India, Home Department, Political, 1931, File No. 10/28.

village about five miles from Jammu. In the clash forty three members of the Jatha were injured. Both the Muslims and Hindus declared that they would go to Top to assist the Jatha and the Rajputs respectively. Severe communal riots broke out in Jammu at many places; the rival communities killed five Muslims and two Hindus on November 2 and 3, 1931.[45] The communal riots spread to the other districts of the Jammu province.

Hindu Response

A Hindu Association, called Kasht Niwarak Samiti organized in Lahore, sent a telegram to the Maharaja, requesting him to grant an interview to the deputationists sent by the Samiti. The deputation consisted of Sir Rampal Singh, Captain Raja Durga Narayan Singh, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Dass, Rai Bahadur Lala Mohan Lal, an Advocate of Simla, Dr. A. R. Sinha, and R. N. Sharma, Organizing Secretary of the Kasht Niwarak Samiti, Lahore.[46]

The objects of the deputation, as described by the Samiti were :[47]

(1) To make Kashmir affairs an all India Hindu cause, to teach all friends and foes that the Hindu

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rulers and the subjects were all united to meet this malicious propaganda and to cause its pitiable death;

(2) To create inimical forces among the leaders of the movement;

(3) To create hatred and awe in the Muslim world against this propaganda;

(4) To show that the Samiti was doing its best by getting the articles of the Muslim nationalists published in papers and also arranging meetings, etc., against the propaganda;

(5) To request the Maharaja that immediate help to carry on the work would be necessary.

Resolutions were passed by the Kasht Niwarak Samiti in their meetings and copies of the resolutions were sent to the Viceroy, the Governor of the Punjab and to the Secretary of State. Letters were sent to the Maharajas of the States of Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Nuttoni, Patiala, Alwar, Kotah, Dhotpur, Udnaipur, Orchha, Gwalior, Indore, Rewah, Dattia and Jamnagar. The main idea contained in these letters was that in the interest of the Hindu cause from the nationalistic as well as from the Congress point of view the Jatha propaganda of the Muslims was impregnated with a great maliciousness on their part. They were doing all that was possible in the British territories uttering slogans to demolish the Kashmir

State, the Dogra family and that Sialkot and Lahore were the centres where all these conspiracies were hatching. The letters pointed out that "Some of the leading men like Sofi and Sir Mohammed Iqbal had inwardly every sympathy with the movement and they were taking every part in guiding their activities. All that was possible was being done to influence the political department against His Highness".[48]

The Samiti requested all the leaders of Hindu public opinion to take all possible steps to stop the agitation. It also advised the editors of the newspapers to undo the malicious propaganda of the Muslims by contradicting the news and refuting their arguments. Another huge public meeting was held at Lahore, in November, 1931, under the auspices of the Arya Swarajya Sabha, Punjab, Lahore. Many resolutions were adopted by the Sabha. They laid down :[49]

(1) The Sabha welcomed the formation of All India Hindu Defence Committee which was organizing relief, propaganda publicity, representations and deputations and which formulated a programme for the protection of the Kashmir State Hindus and the Hindu rights in British India and other States.

(2) The Sabha assured the Hindu Defence Committee and the Arya

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Swarajya Sabha that the public would liberally respond to their call for men or money whenever needed.

(3) The Sabha condemned the action of the Maharaja regarding the release of the Ahrar prisoners.[50] They believed that this policy was responsible for Muslim lawlessness and was seriously apprehended to breed a more dangerous and virulent recrudescence of the trouble.

(4) The Sabha also condemned the policies of Qadianis which they called "highly unpatriotic and unholy secret moves of the Qadianis". It blamed the Ahrars for open rebellion in the form of Jatha raids as the Kashmir frontier which were responsible for fomenting communal trouble in the State, and the British area and which created a situation that forced His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to seek British assistance.

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(5) The Sabha solicited His Highness and Kashmir Darbar "not to feel nervous at the Ahrars superficial and artificial agitation and to boldly face the situation with a strongly stable policy."

(6) The Sabha expressed its sympathy with the Hindu sufferers of arson, loot, murders, incendianism, etc., perpetrated by the Muslim hooligans at Jammu, Baramulla and Mirpur, and advised them to take all that as a humble offering at the altar of the Hindu Kingdom and Hindu religion and to be prepared for the voluntary sacrifice of their lives and all their belongings for the protection of the Hindus of the State.

(7) The Sabha strongly condemned the deliberate inactivity of the executive and the authorities of Jammu in the control of Muslim rioters. It appreciated the heroic spirit of the Hindu Youngmen of Jammu who defended the Jammu city and saved the town from being burnt and looted.[51]

British Intervention

At the request of the Kashmir Government conveyed through the Resident, the Governor-General, decided on 4th November, 1931, to promulgate the Kashmir Ordinance, so that the Punjab

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Government would proceed to take action to prevent further Jathas from entering Kashmir.[52] The Ordinance empowered the District Magistrates to prohibit assemblage which sought to proceed to Jammu and Kashmir State, or threatened peace and tranquillity, or endangered human life, or disturbed the normal course of life and business, or cause rioting or lead to rioting in the territories of the State.[53]

The Government of India also decided to despatch British troops to Jammu and Mirpur to restore and maintain order in those areas. Each detachment was accompanied by a British Civil Officer deputed for the purpose by the Punjab Government. The military commander had to act in close consultation with him.[54] The civil officer would also retain liaison with the State civil authorities. They had to keep the Government of India informed of the events; and if any unfortunate incident in which the State forces or the State police were concerned would occur while the British troops were in Kashmir or while special measures which the Ordinance made possible were in operation, it would be necessary for the

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British Government to assume responsibility for enquiry into such incidents.[55]

The publication of this news had an immediate reassuring effect on the local situation in Mirpur and Jammu though Jathas continued to pour in from outside until action was taken under the Ordinance passed by the Punjab authorities.[56] The Government of India was convinced that these measures were in the interest both of the British subjects and of all sections of the population of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Government of India made a number of suggestions to the Maharaja. The Maharaja accepted the suggestions. He undertook :[57]

(1) to dissolve the Committee of Enquiry presided over by Barjour Dalal and appointment of F.B.R. Spencer, retired Sessions Judge, Punjab, to enquire into and report on the causes of any disturbances which occurred after the events covered by the first Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee and the measures adopted for suppression thereof;

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(2) to direct the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir to enquire into the cases of any persons suffering from destitution in consequence of recent disturbances or in need of urgent relief owing to physical disablement in disturbances or death of relatives on whom dependent so that the sufferers would be provided for as soon as possible;

(3) to direct the High Court to allow suitable extension of the period of appeal in the cases of persons convicted of political offences who had failed to appeal within the time ordinarily allowed;

(4) to appoint a Commission of Inquiry over which Bertrant J. Glancy would preside to enquire into the grievances of various communities in the State;

(5) to provide complete religious liberty to all the State subjects;

(6) (i) to entrust the Commission which was constituted "to enquire into any complaints laid before it in regard to any conditions or circumstances which might tend in any way to obstruct free practice of any religion followed by any community in the State";

(ii) to enquire into any complaint of general nature unconnected with the practice of any particular form of religion;

(7) to restore religious buildings;

(8) to convene a conference after the completion of the Commission "over which Glancy would preside, and at which various sections of the people of the State would be represented, so that the most suitable way of introducing constitutional developments would be fully discussed and recommendations put up accordingly for the Maharaja's consideration and orders."

The one point on which the Maharaja found it impossible to accept the Government of India's vews was the deputation in the State of outside Muslims. He felt that this step would make his position impossible in the Punjab and would undoubtedly be followed by demands from the Hindus for similar representation, probably of the Congress party, which would lead to wider complications. He had already accepted, after considerable persuation, the deputation of one outside officer in Glancy. Glancy himself felt very strongly on this point and implored reference to the Government of India to consider the Maharaja's views sympathetically.[58] The Maharaja had gone to meet the views of the Government of India because Article IX of the Treaty of Amritsar authorized the Maharaja to call on Government of India for assistance.

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On November 9, 1931, a British Indian Muslim delegation was received by Sir Findlater Stewart who deputised for the Secretary of States; the latter being indisposed. The delegates urged upon the Government of India :[59]

(1) that British troops be employed in Kashmir so as to oblige the British Government to rectify the grievances occasioned by the agitation;

(2) that Glancy inquiry be made to cover not only the demands for reform but also the alleged recent atrocities;

(3) that the administration be overhauled by employment of British and British Indian Officers as had been done in Hyderabad;

(4) that Muslim feeling was growing as action by the Government had been postponed despite the advice of responsible leaders until irresponsible elements took a hand;

(5) that the Muslims wished to help the British Government by calling of the Jathas if they could be satisfied that the British Government would take firm action.

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The Secretary of State for India, working in consonance with the Muslim delegation advised the Maharaja to extend the scope of Glancy Inquiry to cover these. He said, "Action must obviously await consideration of Glancy report."[60]

Glancy Commission

On 12th November, 1931, B. J. Glancy was appointed to preside over the Commission of Enquiry to formulate proposals to meet the grievances of Muslim subjects and other communities as well. The names of the two Kashmiri Members of the Glancy Committee, were announced. They were Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and Prem Nath Bazaz. On the same day, they were nominated by the communities ~~xxxxxxxx~~ concerned, as were Chaudri Ghulam Abbas and Pandit Lok Nath Sharma by the two communities of Jammu.[61]

The function of the Commission was to enquire into and report on the various complaints of a religious or general nature already submitted to His Highness' Government and also such complaints as might be directly laid before the Commission.

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# Chapter VIII

# CONCLUSION

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## CONCLUSION

In the earlier phases of its evolution, the freedom movement in the Indian States, had two important aspects: the first was the growth of national consciousness and the realization that the British were alien rulers and therefore, India should be liberated from their servitude; the second, that India was a national unity and the Indian States were a part of this national unity. As the national movement in India matured, a third aspect was added to this movement; that the Princes of the Indian States were indeed, the native rulers but they were an inseparable part of the British colonial organisation. Broadly speaking the present study has attempted an analysis of these major aspects of the growth of national movement, in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The political sociology and social culture of the States differed distinctly in many aspects from the political sociology of the British India. The direct impact of the British rule was not felt in the States and sociologically, the States remained considerably backward in terms of modernising trends. The British rule liberated the liberalist outlook, the British rule propagated, and the reformist policy, the British followed. Besides, in the States the

Princely rule possessed its own characteristics. Generally the Princes forged a pattern of personal rule based on political support which came from traditional loyalty, feudal ownership of land and social gradations of caste and community. In fact, there was a considerable difference in the political sociology of one State from the other. The evolution of this national consciousness and the awareness of Indian unity was, therefore, a phenomenal development which occurred in the States.

The investigations which the present work is based upon, has revealed certain important facts about the evolution of this national movement in its early phases. In the first instance, the British intervention by which Pratap Singh was set aside in 1889, exposed the State to two major influences: the first was the pattern of the British administrative system and the second, the British educational system. The British reorganised the entire administration of the State and put it in charge of the British officers, or the Indian officers of the Indian Political Department, reformed the entire land tenure system, taxation structure, communication system and the revenue system. This revolutionised the entire political outlook of the people, who having taken to British education found opportunity of wider political participation in the State administration.

Secondly the impact of the English education on the

mind of the people of the State was deep and widespread. The English education evolved a strong movement for social reform, economic reform, and political reform. The struggle of Sardar Budh Singh the Sikh revolutionary, the movement led by Dogra Sadar Sabha, and the social reform movements led by various community organizations such as the Arya Pratindhi Sabha, Arya Kumar Sabha, Kashmir Pandit Sabha, Jammu, Jammu and Kashmir Women's Welfare Association, Arya Samaj, Dharm Sabha, the Fraternity Kashmiri Pandits Social Uplift Association, Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim-wa-Ittihad, Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu, Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satar-i-Masturat, Anjuman-i-Hanfia, Anjuman-i-Aslat-ul-Muslimin, the Chief Khalsa Dewan, the Khalsa Youngmen's Association, the Sikh Sahaik Sabha Kashmir, in the State, is an indicator of the deep influence which the reformist content of the English education had on the people. In fact, the reformist movements formed the basis of the struggle for freedom in the State. Quest for reform led to a wider and deeper understanding of social backwardness, economic stagnation and political isolation which in turn exposed the colonial interests of the British. As must be clear, the Hindu and Sikh socio-religious reform movements, ultimately laid down the basis of national awareness in the State and the Muslim socio-religious reform

movements laid down the basis of the struggle against the Dogras. In due course of time, as it became clear that the Dogra rule was a part of the British colonial organization, the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim movements for political reform, fused into a unified struggle against the Dogras as well as the British.

The spread of English education had another dimension also. The turnover of the educated youngmen far exceeded the opportunities of political participation and employment in the State Government. "Many of the youngmen found their way into the services of the State, and thus, cast in a new progressive sociological role, assumed community leadership. Most of them, however, failed to find any avenues of employment. The agrarian economic frame offered few prospects for the educated people. Except for the indiginous and not so prosperous and industrial establishments, a stable industrial structure did not exist in the State. Barring the township of Jammu, where trade and commerce flourished due to the proximity of the commercial centre in the Punjab, the rest of the province was as poor as Kashmir province was, where the economic activity centered round small trade in meagre and more often false surpluses in agricultural produce. Imbibed by the liberalist tradition, which underlined the English education, and therefore, keen to find a place

in the administrative organizations of the State and also because alternative opportunities of advantageous employment in the other economic avocations, the educated youngmen developed a reactionary interest in the administrative services in the State. The State administration, however, offered very restricted margin of employment. Most of the offices were filled by the Government of India from among its civil service cadres of filled by the Dogras on political and other considerations. The British officials, who considered the Government in the State as their own preserve and managed to assume positions and roles for their personal benefit or utilised the distribution of employments as an effective instrument of patronage, paid little attention to the difficulties, the educated youth faced. The clash of interests was inevitable. A deep sense of resentment was created in the people of the State against the British officials as well as those appointed by them." Many social and political organizations were founded in the State by these educated youngmen, more prominent among them being the Dogra Sadar Sabha, Yuvak Sabha of Kashmiri Hindus and the Muslim Youngmen's Association. The objectives of these associations reflected the earnest desire of the educated youngmen to assume wider participation in the politics and the administration of the State. As the movements led by the youngmen assumed wider mass participation, they turned into peoples movements' for

political participation and inevitably came into conflict with the Dogra Regime as well as the British.

Thirdly, the national movement in the State acquired its basic principles and main direction from the national movement in India. The awareness of the Indian nationalism and Indian unity was imbibed by the people of the State from the movement for the liberation of India. As a matter of fact, the ideological content of the movement in the State was derived from the ideological commitments of the Indian National Congress. The Swadeshi Movement in 1906, the Non-Cooperation movement of 1919, the Khilafat Agitation of 1920, and the Civil Disobedience movement of 1929 and 1930, gave to the national movement in the State its content as well as direction. That is how the movement in the State, in spite of deep community conflicts and imbalances, was moderate and secular in character and underlined constitutional protest.

Fourthly, the rise of the Muslim distrust introduced a new factor in the national movement in the State and pushed it into communal extremism, which overwhelmed the moderate movement because of the numerical majority of the Muslims in the State. Muslim movement was a protest against the Dogras as well as the Hindus, and drew its inspiration from the emergence of Muslim militancy in the Punjab, after the withdrawal of the Khilafat movement. The Muslim movement in the State idealized liberation of

the Muslims in the State from the Dogras and the establishment of Muslim precedence in the politics of the State. The Muslim agitation broke up the moderate and secular movement in the State, which had slowly grown over the last three decades, almost into two opposite community struggles. Indian secularism was Hindu based because of the predominant Hindu majority in India. It lost ground in a context which was predominantly Muslim.

The Muslim agitation brought to its end the first phase of the national movement in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which was mainly, moderate, secular and reformist in content. The Muslim agitation was revivalist, communal and extremist in outlook. The British used it, to smother the national consciousness which the early moderate movement had fostered, in the State. This earned them deeper hostility of the Hindus as well as the State Government. These reactions formed the groundwork of the movement for freedom in the State, which followed the Muslim agitation.